

HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

MANNERS, ARTS, LANGUAGES, RELIGIONS, INSTITUTIONS, AND COMMERCE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

BY

JOHN CRAWFURD, F. R. S.

LATE BRITISH RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF THE SULTAN OF JAVA.

WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS.

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BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF JAVA.

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Of all the languages of the Indian Islands, the most improved and copious is that of the Javanese. It is written in a peculiar character, of great neatness, which extends to the language of the Sundas, the Madurese, Balinese, and people of Lombok, and, in comparatively recent times, along with the parent language, made some progress in Sumatra and Borneo. It is confessedly formed on the principles of the Sanskrit alphabet, but, unlike some other languages of the Archipelago, it has not fol-

lowed the well known and artificial classification of that alphabet.

The Javanese language has twenty consonants, and six vowel sounds. The letters of the alphabet, in the *native* enumeration of them, are considered but twenty in number, the vowels being omitted, and considered only as orthographic marks, like the supplementary characters of the Arabic alphabet. Of the Dewanagari alphabet, the Javanese wants no less than fourteen consonants. An European is most struck with the absence of the letters *f* and *v*, and of that sound for which *sh* stands in our own language. With respect to the vowels, the greatest peculiarity is the frequent substitution of the vowel *o* for the *a* of other languages, or rather the transformation of the latter into the former. The Indian words *kama*, love, and *sama*, with, become, in the enunciation of the Javanese, *komo* and *somo*. But this happens without any change in the orthography; for this commutable sound is that vowel of the Indian alphabet inherent in every consonant, without being expressed. This peculiarity I am inclined to consider as quite accidental; for we find, that while the *o* is the favourite vowel of the Javanese, their neighbours, on the same island, and on Madura, adopt the *a*, and tribes as little connected with them as possible on Sumatra, like them prefer the broad sound of *o*. When one consonant coalesces with another, or

follows it without the intervention of a vowel, the practice of the Javanese alphabet differs from that of the Sanskrit. The Javanese, in such situations, give their consonants new forms, and often place the second in position underneath the first. This is evidently an improvement on the Sanskrit alphabet, where confusion is the consequence of multiplying and combining the characters, begetting rather an alphabet of syllables or of combinations of letters, than of the simple elements of sounds.

The Javanese alphabet, as it relates to its own language, comes up to the notion of a perfect character, for it expresses every sound in the language, and every sound invariably with the same character, which never expresses but one. From this excellence of the alphabet, it follows, that the language is easily read and written, and a false or variable orthography, so common in European languages, is seldom discovered, even among the unlearned. In splendour or elegance the alphabet of the Arabs and Persians is probably superior to that of the Javanese; but the latter, it may be safely asserted, surpasses in beauty and neatness all other written characters.

All the languages of the Archipelago are singularly simple and inartificial in their structure, and the Javanese partakes of this common character, though it perhaps be on the whole the most complex and artificial in its formation.

The noun admits of no variation in its form to express gender or number, which are effected by adjectives, as the first is in our own tongue. One simple inflection represents the genitive case, and the other relations are expressed by prepositions; nay, even the prepositions, in situations where they could not be dispensed with in other languages, are omitted, and the sense left to be made out from the context,—a practice very consonant to the genius of the language.

The adjective is still more simple in its form than the noun, admitting of no distinction of gender, number, or case, and seldom of any change by comparison.

The pronouns are equally invariable in their form. Their position before or after a word determines them respectively to be pronominal or adjective. Those of the first and second person are very numerous. There is none at all of the third, except in a possessive form. Now and then the word *self* is vaguely so used.

The verb, like that of other languages, may be divided into active and neuter. There is but one mood, the imperative, determined by any change in the form of the verb. The rest are left to be understood by the context. The simple form of the verb expresses present time, one auxiliary a perfect past, and another an indefinite future, and these are all the tenses of a Javanese verb. With

the characteristic brevity, or rather looseness, which belongs to the language, even these signs of the tenses are often omitted, and the meaning left to be gathered from the context.

The most perfect portion of the verb is the passive voice, unless we except the processes by which verbs are changed from intransitive to transitive.

The most complex and artificial processes of Javanese grammar are those by which one part of speech is formed from another. Most of the parts of speech admit of being changed one into the other, even with a degree of versatility beyond that of our own language. This is most commonly effected by prefixing or affixing inseparable particles, or both; but it not unfrequently happens, that the same word, in its primitive and most simple form, is used for several different parts of speech,—a practice which particularly obtains in the spoken dialect, the more formal language of composition being usually somewhat more artificial in its structure.

The Javanese language is not less remarkable for its copiousness in some respects, than for its meagreness and poverty in others. In unimportant trifles, it deals in the most puerile and endless distinctions, while, in matters of utility, not to say in matters of science, it is utterly defective. These characters of the language belong to the peculiar state of society which exists among the people of

Java, which I shall endeavour to illustrate, by entering at some length upon the subject.

There are two sources of copiousness in the Javanese language, one resulting from the natural tendency of this language, and perhaps of most other semi-barbarous tongues, to degenerate into redundancy, and the other from political causes. In the first case, it descends to the slenderest ramifications of distinction, often more resembling the elaborate arrangements of science than the common language of the world It wantons in exuberance, when species, varieties, and individuals are described,—while no skill is displayed in combining and generalizing. Not only are names for the more general abstractions usually wanting, as in the words fate, space, nature, &c. but the language shows the utmost deficiency in common generic names. There are, for example, two names for each of the metals, and three for some; but not one for the whole class,—not a word equivalent to metal or mineral. There exists no word for animal, expressing the whole class of living creatures. The genera of *beasts*, *birds*, *insects*, and *reptiles*, are but indifferently expressed; but for the individuals of each class there is the usual superfluity, five names, for example, for a dog; six for a hog and elephant, and seven for a horse.

The disposition to generalize which appears in every polished language, and so discoverable in the

structure of almost every sentence, is, in short, a stranger to the Javanese. It is fitted for the language of pure description, of the passions, or of familiar life, but wholly defective when any degree of subtlety or abstraction is implied, as may well be expected in the language of a simple and semi-barbarous people.

It is, of course, on familiar occasions, that the minute and painful redundance of the language is most commonly displayed. The various postures or modifications of position in which the human body can be placed, not only for ease and convenience, but from whim or caprice, are described in a language so copious, that the anatomist, the painter, or the statuary, might derive assistance from it. There are with the Javanese ten ways of standing, and twenty of sitting, and each has its distinct and specific appellation. To express the different modifications of sound, there are not less than fifty words. In such cases the ramifications of meaning are expressed by distinct words, and the nicer shades by changing the broader vowels for the slenderer ones, the greater intensity being expressed by the first, and the lesser by the second. Thus, *gumrot* means the noise of a door on its hinges, while *gumret* and *gumrit* mean the same thing, each in a less intense degree.

The great source of copiousness in the language,

however, is that which springs from the fabric of society, considered in a political view. This peculiarity of the language runs to so great an extent, that speech is in fact divided into two dialects, the ordinary language, and one invented to express deference and respect. This distinction by no means implies a court or polished language, opposed to a vulgar or popular one, for both are equally polite and cultivated, and all depends on the relations in which the speakers stand to each other, as they happen to be inferiors or superiors. A servant addresses his master in the language of deference, a child his parent, a wife her husband, if there be much disparity in their ages, and the courtier his prince. The superior replies in the ordinary dialect, the language still affording modifications and distinctions, according to the rank of the person he addresses, until that rank rises to equality, when, if no intimacy subsists between the parties, the language of deference is adopted by both, or when, if there does, ceremony is thrown aside, and the ordinary language becomes the only medium of conversation. An extensive acquaintance with the language of deference is held a mark of education and good-breeding. With persons who frequent a court, or are in habits of intercourse with the great, the phraseology is refined and copious; but of the ordinary peasant,

it may be well believed that the vocabulary is meagre and confined.

In the formation of the Javanese language of deference, the aim is to avoid what is ordinary or familiar, as equivalent to what is not respectful. In a few words of rare occurrence, and not familiar by use, no change is effected. Recourse, in other cases, is had to the recondite language of literature, which is equivalent to the Sanskrit; thus *estri, putro, suryo, chondro,* are the respectful terms for a woman, a child, the sun, and the moon. When it happens, however, that, by frequent use, a Sanskrit word melts into the common idiom, a new proceeding is followed. Thus we have *kanchono,* gold, converted into *jănne,* the yellow object, and *săloko,* silver, into *pettakan,* or the white object.

Sometimes the word used in the language of deference is an entire synonym differing in sound and orthography, as, for *gawe,* to do, *damăl;* for *turon,* to sleep, *sare* or *tilam;* for *watu,* a stone, *selo;* for *dalan,* a road, *mărgi;* and for *bali,* to return, *wangsul.*

The most frequent mode of all is, by effecting a slight orthographical change in words of the ordinary language. These changes are not wanton or capricious, but subject to a fixed principle, capable of being reduced to rule. A termination in *s,* in *ng,* and in *tan,* is respectful, and it is respectful

always to change a broad sounding vowel into a more slender one. *Maricho*, pepper, becomes by this rule *mariyos*; *priyayi*, a chief, *priyantan*; *kayu*, wood, becomes *kajang*; *Jowo*, Java, becomes *Jawi*; *kulon*, the west, becomes *kilen*; and *lor*, the north, becomes *ler*.

Even the names of places are, in the most provoking and puzzling manner, subjected to the same changes. Often these are entire synonyms, and still more frequently literal translations of the compounded words, of which the names of places so often consist. In writing to a superior, for example, it would be thought ill bred to use the usual words *Cheribon*, Gărsik, or Solo, for the names of these towns. The inferior would call them respectively *Grage*, *Tandas*, and *Surakarta*; and were he to write *Banyumas*, or the country of the *golden water*, the name of a beautiful province of the island, he would call it Toyojănne, which means just the same thing; while a still higher stretch of complaisance might induce him to give it the Sanskrit name of *Tirto-kanchono*.

There are no bounds to the little ingenuity of flattery and adulation on this subject. Even the peasant exercises himself in it, but his efforts are often unsuccessful; and I have sometimes seen a smile excited in the chiefs, by the awkward flattery of their dependents. Some words are so stubborn as not to yield to the rules of this politi-

cal grammar, and the result is an awkward combination of letters. On such occasions, the native princes will condescend to issue a *dispensation* in their behalf; for such subjects are, with them, matters of interest and moment.

Sounds, in the Javanese language, have often an analogy to the sense, as in other languages. It is not enough, indeed, that this analogy is preserved; the language often aims at stating the degree of it, by the use, according to circumstances, of the broader or weaker vowels, or by adopting liquids in some cases, and harsh consonants in others. The Javanese writers delight in an assemblage of such words, when they attempt subjects of awe or terror; and, no doubt, they must have a powerful effect on the ear of a native.

The Javanese language, in common with every other language of the Indian Isles, does not abound in figurative modes of expression; such as have, by some, been imagined to be characteristic of the language of all barbarians, and especially of those of the East. Nothing, indeed, can be more adverse to the genius of the Javanese than a figurative and hyperbolical style We see, indeed, a good deal of this in the poetry borrowed from the Hindus of Western India; but the observation now made strictly applies to writings purely Javanese, to their epistolary correspondence, and

to the language of verbal narrative, and ordinary conversation.

The few examples of words used figuratively are plain and obvious, and probably exist in almost every language,—as foot for base, head for chief; vegetable root, for source or origin; high and low, for moral superiority and inferiority; heat, for anger; little, for low in rank, and great for high in rank. Sometimes these figurative words take a more characteristic and amusing form. From the word *wajah*, to wash clothes, for example, we have *wajah*, to discipline a child; from lăttah, turbid water, we have the same word meaning confusion, disturbance, anarchy; from *liwar*, to break loose, we have *liwar*, a strumpet; from *săbbal*, to quit the highway on a journey, we have *săbbal*, to disobey a parent; from *găbbung*, the grasp of the forefinger and thumb, we have power, authority; and from găbbal, the dust or filth that adheres to the feet in walking, is too obviously derived the same word, meaning a menial or servant.

Comparisons and similes, used as ornaments of composition, are pretty common. Not unfrequently the allusion is extremely absurd and ridiculous; at other times, though quaint and singular, it is appropriate. A prince rendering an account of himself in a foreign country, is made to say that he is "a wanderer without a home, like a paper

kite without a string, which is driven to and fro by the caprice of the wind;" or that he is "like dust driven by the wind;" or "a grain of rice-seed, cast from the hand of the husbandman." In such similes, however, there is no variety; and without invention or ingenuity, we see the same stale comparisons used, upon similar occasions, by every successive writer, and even by the same writer in the same composition.

The derivation of the language will be treated of at such length in the chapter on the character and affiliation of the East insular languages, that it would be superfluous to say much on the subject at present. Suffice it to state, that, to the original meagre stock of the rude tribe from which the Javanese nation sprung, has been superadded, at different epochs of its history, a proportion of the great Polynesian language of Sanskrit, and of Arabic. The introduction of the latter is a matter of historic record; the circumstances of the second of rational induction, from strong presumptive and collateral argument; but those of the first are buried in the darkest, and, it may be suspected, in nearly impenetrable obscurity. Such are the four great components of the modern Javanese; and if we add to them a few trifling and almost adventitious words of modern Persian, Telinga, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, the analysis is complete.

The literature of the Javanese is of three different descriptions: that which has been borrowed from the Hindus; that borrowed from the Arabs; and that which is native or indigenous. The portion borrowed from the Arabs is inconsiderable, and will not demand much consideration.

All other Javanese literature is, like that of every rude people, metrical; the plain and simple reason for which seems to be, that all composition being oral before it was written, would naturally be poetry, to assist the memory,—not to say that to amuse the fancy, and awake the passions, of which poetry is the natural language, and not to satisfy the reason, is the main object in such cases with all barbarians. When the use of letters is first acquired, oral composition is, from habit, committed to writing unaltered, while the circumstances of the society continuing unchanged, and amusement, not instruction or utility, continuing the chief object of men, the practice is necessarily persevered in. To this day, the songs of the Javanese peasants, who can generally neither read nor write, are in the same peculiar measures, and on the same subjects, which we find described in their literary compositions. From this cause it is that poetry with every people precedes prose, and that poets attain celebrity for ages before prose writers are heard of. Making ample allowance for the generous and manly genius of European nations on the one

hand, and for the feebleness, incapacity, and puerility which has ever characterized those of Asia on the other, the Javanese are, at this moment, in the same state of advancement in literature that the Greeks were in the time of Homer, and the Caledonians in that of Ossian; bating the accidental advantage, in the instance of the former, of an earlier knowledge of writing, with the use they have made of it, perhaps in this case, but a dubious one when it is recollected that the tameness of writing is substituted for the animated declamation of oral delivery.

Like many nations who have made some progress in civilization, the Javanese are found to be possessed of an ancient and recondite language, in which are buried some relics of their ancient literature and religion. This language the Javanese term *Kawi*, which, in their acceptation of it, means *refined*, as opposed to the ordinary or *popular* tongue. The words *Kawi* and *Jowo*, or rather *Jawi*, from the language of deference, here adopted for the rhyming termination, always so agreeable to a rude ear, are correlative terms.

The *Kawi*, in its simplicity of structure, resembles the Javanese, but it has a greater variety and range of consonant and vocalic sounds than the popular language, is harsher in its prosody than what we expect in the genius of the soft tongues of the Indian islanders, and seems, in short, to

have in this particular a foreign air. In its composition it abounds in Sanskrit words to a degree unknown in any other language of the Archipelago, and these in a degree of purity also beyond the rest, an advantage secured to it by a more copious alphabet. At the same time, it contains many essential words of the modern language of Java.

The opinion I am inclined to form of this singular language is, that it is no foreign tongue introduced into the island, but the written language of the priesthood, to whom it is probable, in early times, the use of letters was confined. What would be the effect of confining the literature of a people to a cast or order, may in some measure be judged from the effect which a similar state of things produced in literary composition in our own country, at a time when professed writers adopted an affected and obscure language, hardly intelligible to us at present, and which even then differed so widely from the language of business and the world. If we advert to the fact, that that particular order was the priesthood, of the Hindu religion,—of a religion which loves to veil its doctrines and precepts in the darkest and absurdest language, and of which a foreign and dead tongue is the sacred text,—we may be prepared to explain the singular fact of the *Kawi* differing so widely from the present Javanese, or even from the most ancient specimens of the ordinary speech of which we are possessed.

All *Kawi* composition is in verse, and this verse formed on the principle of Sanskrit prosody, that is to say, not rhyming measures, such as belong to all languages simple in their grammatical form, but such as is found to belong to original languages of complex structure. This will appear to the European reader something like the attempt to impose the fetters of Latin prosody upon the modern language of Europe, in the shape of blank verse. The only compositions in the *Kawi* which it is worth while adverting to in this place, are epitomes of the *Mahabarat* and *Ramayana;* the latter preserving its name unaltered, and the forming recognized under that of the *Brata-yuda,* or war of Barat. These works, which in India are not only the first of literary compositions, but have also the authority of scripture, are the sources of the principal mythological knowledge of the Indian islanders, as connected with the literature, religion, and superstitions of Hindustan.

Absurd as these two works generally are, a brighter passage may now and then be selected; and they display a comparative vigour of fancy and force of intellect, which places them, as poetical compositions, far above the utter inanity and childishness of more modern works.

Javanese poetry, contrary to Kawi verse, is in a peculiar rhyming stanza, of which there are a great many varieties. No language, I believe, affords a

parallel to this strange kind of measure, and, therefore, I shall offer a brief account of it. A stanza consists of a limited and given number of lines, or rather pauses, each of which must invariably and unalterably consist of a given number of syllables, and terminate in the same rhyme, which rhyme must be a broad or slender vowel, it being indifferent what its sound be, provided the arrangement into these two classes be attended to. To give an example, the stanza called *Durmo* consists of seven pauses, the first ending in the broad vowels *o* or *u*, and consisting of twelve syllables; the second in *e* or *i*, and consisting of seven syllables; the third in *o* or *u*, consisting of six; the fourth also in *o* or *u*, and having seven syllables; the fifth in *e* or *i*, consisting of eight syllables; the sixth in *o* or *u*, consisting of five syllables; and the seventh of slender vowels, consisting of eight syllables.

It is not easy to understand from what principle this fantastical measure could have had its origin, for it is not to be supposed that the rhyme which is not repeated until at the interval of seven lines or pauses, as in the instance quoted, and of others at an interval of nine or even ten, should still hang upon the ear and be remembered.

A Javanese poem of any length does not uniformly consist of the same measure throughout, for the different measures are supposed to be most appropriate to particular subjects; hence, they are

varied as the subject is grave or lively, expresses love, hatred, peace, war, or negociation.

The trammels of this description of verse give rise to the necessity of ample prosodial licences. Sometimes the first, or even the two first syllables of a word are omitted, and at other times as many are added to eke out a line, and obtain a rhyme producing a very ludicrous effect, as in several of the worst of our own old ballads. In short, sense is as often sacrificed to sound in the poetry of the Javanese, as in that of any people on earth.

An account of Javanese literature is curious, and even important, as it tends to throw light on the history of society in general, and more particularly on that considerable portion of the species which is contained in Java itself, and the other countries of the Indian Archipelago; but if the reader expects to find in the literature of Java any merit worthy the attention of the European scholar, he will be utterly disappointed. He will discover in it neither sublimity, pathos, tenderness, nor humour, but, on the contrary, bombast, puerility, or utter inanity, in literature, the very stammering of infancy without its interest or amusement.

Javanese literature may be divided into lyrical compositions, or songs; romances founded on Hindu legends; romances founded on native story; histories of modern transactions; legal and ethical

tracts, chiefly in prose; and compositions, chiefly on matters of jurisprudence and religion, founded on Arabic originals. Of these I shall say a few words in their turn.

Of all these, to my taste, the best are the simple songs, for they are the most easy and natural. The simplicity of the subject deprives the writer of all opportunity of wantoning in that inflated extravagance which he indulges on other occasions. The following is a favourable specimen of one of these compositions, with a literal translation:

Midăro sewu năgoro,
Mongso kantuko kăkaleh,
Ingkang koyo diko merah
Wădono hanawang sasi,
Batuk selo chăndani.
Michis wutah sinom-mipun,
Halis hangron ning Imbo,
Hidăp tumănggeng rawit,
Remaniro handan handan handrawilo.

Kang netro jahit hangraras,
Pipi-ne Juren sajuring
Latinyo mangis karangat.
Grono fungeh măntăsi,
Hati-hati ngudăp turi,
Hwang-gniro nyaongkal putung,
Tăngah-nyo lung-ning jonggo,
Jojo wijang hamantăsi,
Lir nyu-dănfo pămbayun, sumonggo karso.

Pămbayu-ne sang kusumo,
Hanglir pendah chăngkir gading,
Kabăbăd-ing kămban jinggo,
Măntăk-măntăk hangedani.
Bahu gilig haramping,
Hangganđewo hasta-nipun,
Tăngah-he koyo putungo,
Driji puchuk-ing ngri,
Kănakane hapanjang tulhu hangraias.

Wăwangkonng păpăd kumătan,
Wăntes-se pudak sikili,
Dălamakan hanggamparan,
Păpăd sumbăr tulis neki,
Wătarane pawestri,
Halayak păjăh salulut,
Yen chinondro ing warno,
Korang papan luweh tulis
Ngulatono satahun mongso hautuko. *

Translation.

"Let a thousand countries be travelled, and another like you, my love, will not be found; your face is as the moon, your forehead is alabaster. The hair on your temples resembles a string of coins; your eyebrows the leaf of the Imba; your soft eyelashes look upwards; your long jet hair falls undulating; your eyes, sharp-angled, are becoming; your cheek is the partition of a Duren; your mouth the fissure of a ripe Mangostin; your slender nose is becoming. The lock behind your

* The stanza in which this is written is called Sinom.

cheek is as the blossom of the Turi tree; your chin as the angle of an adze, with its handle; your neck bends like the tendril of a weeper; your wide bosom is becoming; your breasts are as the ivory coco-nut, leaving nothing to desire. The breasts of my princess are like two young coco-nuts, bound in a vest of red, full and smooth, intoxicating to madness. Her shoulders are polished and slender; her arms like an unstrung bow; her waist as if it would break by an effort. The tips of her fingers are as thorns, her nails long and becoming; her legs are shaped as the flower of the pudac; the soles of her feet are arched. My fair one looks as if she would perish at the breath of love. Were all her perfections to be enumerated, how little room, how much to write. A year's search will not produce her equal."

Of romances, founded on Hindu story or mythology, I have already said a few words in speaking of the obsolete and recondite language. Translations of various merit or demerit of the Brata-yuda and Ramayana exist in modern Javanese; and from the latter, in particular, a great many compositions are fabricated, detailing the various adventures of Rama. One advantage the Javanese epitomes have over the Sanskrit originals, they are free from their tiresome prolixity; and I have no doubt that a spirited version of the Brata-yuda

would give less dissatisfaction to the European reader, than the most skilful one of the Indian original. The following is an example:

"The charge of the King of Awangga was as a torrent. The forces of the Pandus, advancing with clattering pace, met Karna. Their chiefs attempted to arrest his career, but their close ranks were trode down, were fiercely trampled upon. His chariot rushed on, with a hollow noise, like the flight of Garuda. His arrows flew in every direction, interrupted only for a moment by the thunderbolts he discharged; his arrows, which fell on the foe thicker than a shower of rain, poured on without interruption. The Pandus, crushed, overwhelmed, could not sustain themselves. The rage of Karna was unbounded. The hundred Pandus enraged, again rallied and charged, but again fled, broken, trod down, scattered, as if overwhelmed by a mountain flood; while the Kurawa advanced with shouts like the roar of a torrent, or like that of the approaching storm."

All the translations which I have seen of the Ramayana make it appear a more feeble and less interesting production than the Brata-yuda. The following is a favourable specimen; it describes Rawana, the giant of Ceylon, going forth to encounter Rama, after the death of his sons:

"The monarch was furiously enraged; he gnawed his mustaches. His countenance was inflamed, and his bosom red as the warawari flower. Sweat exuded from every pore; the angles of his mouth trembled; his eye-lashes stuck together. His rage was like that of him who stabs the guiltless. He bounded from the earth, and took his flight in the regions of the air. His speed was like that of the falcon about to make a prey of the pigeon. In his desire to exact revenge for his sons, he seemed to feel as if he had already encountered the adverse leader himself. He secretly rejoiced; he vaunted, he called aloud, he challenged all his enemies to meet him at once."

The most abundant class of compositions are the romances founded on native story. A prince of Java called Panji is the hero of the greater number. From inscriptions, this prince is ascertained to have reigned in the eastern extremity of the island, not more than 500 years back. A period which, with more civilized nations, would afford matter of historic record, is by the Javanese the era of fabulous legend, and unfathomable obscurity. Not a single fact of the true history of the prince in question, or of the country in which he reigned, is handed down to us. What is most singular, in all performances of this class, however, is their unaccountable feebleness and utter want

of ingenuity, beyond, indeed, that of all other semi-barbarians. Notwithstanding this, they are suited to the taste of the people, and are not only popular in Java, but have been translated into the Balinese and Malay languages, in which they are favourite performances.

Previous to the introduction of Mahometanism, the Javanese made no attempt to write history, and were as ignorant of chronology as the Hindus, with whom they were so intimately connected. The Mahometan religion brought with it, as it did in India, a more manly and sober style of thinking, and since the era of that conversion, we are possessed of a tolerably connected and circumstantial narrative, improving in credit and in approximation to common sense as we descend.

Even yet, however, history is considered rather an object of amusement than of utility and instruction. Like most of other compositions it is written in verse, and a constant attempt is made to give every transaction, even the most common, an air of romance,—to make in short a tale of it. A common-place conversation, for these are most circumstantially narrated, is delivered in solemn and laboured measure; and the petty action of a Javanese chief with the Dutch East India Company, becomes an ambitious imitation of one of the battles of the Mahabarat, or of the combats of the god or hero Rama with the giant Rawana.

Facts are often accurately, and even circumstantially narrated; but whenever there is an opening for the marvellous, it is sure to be indulged. In offering examples of Javanese historical writing, I shall endeavour not only to select such passages as will illustrate the remarks I have now made upon it; but, in making that selection, instead of indiscriminate extracts, choose the best, with the hope of avoiding the offence of tiring or disgusting my readers.

One of the most singular and extraordinary characters of Javanese, or indeed of any story, is a person called Surapati, a native of Bali, and the slave of a Dutch citizen of Batavia, who raised himself from that abject condition, in spite of the native and European governments, to sovereign authority, and maintained it until his death. His immediate descendants were defeated by the Dutch, and despoiled of the territory, while the body of the founder was taken up and treated with ignominy. The following is the Javanese account of this vile transaction, in which is discoverable that strange union of the true and the marvellous, which is so characteristic of the intellectual state of the Javanese:

"The commissary remained long at Pasuruhan, making diligent search for the body of Surapati, but it was not to be found. He was distres-

sed at this, and said to the inhabitants, 'I will reward whoever finds for me the body of Surapati.' Those people forgot their lord, and accepted the proffered bribe. The commissary was shown the spot where was the chief's grave, but it was level, and no one could discern it was a tomb. The body was dug for and found. It was still entire as when alive, and shed a perfume like a flower garden. The Hollanders bore it away to the camp, and placing it in a sitting posture in a chair, the officers took the corpse by the hand, saluting it according to the custom of their country, and tauntingly exclaiming, 'This is the hero Surapati, the mighty warrior, the enemy of the Dutch.' After this they threw the corpse into a great fire, and burnt it to ashes, and the ashes they took and preserved. The commissary rejoiced in his heart at all this."

In the year 1740, the Javanese joined the Chinese, with the hope of expelling the Dutch from the island after they had perpetrated the well-known massacre of the Chinese at Batavia. The minister of the Susuhuman, commanding the Javanese army on its route to the European establishment of Samarang on the coast, is afflicted with a dream, of which circumstance the annalist renders the following account:

"The Adipati arrived at Onarang, where he halted five days. Here he summoned into his presence a priest of Mataram, who had made the pilgrimage, and thus addressed him, 'My elder brother, I have had a dream, in which the whole of the Chinese appeared to me in the shape of women. Tell me, I pray thee, the interpretation of it.' The pilgrim replied, 'My Lord, the dream is good, for women imply prosperity, and your expedition will have a fortunate termination.' Yet, notwithstanding this explanation, the Adipati was not satisfied. In the meantime, another priest came in and said, 'Father, I too had a dream last night, in which a flame of fire seemed to pursue thee and me. We attempted to escape, but the fire pursued us still: forthwith my sword fell from my side and the *kris* with which you once gifted me. Shortly after every surrounding object appeared to be involved in the same flame.' The heart of the chief was as if it would crumble into atoms when he heard this narrative. His voice became feeble, and he said, 'This is good, but take notice of what you have seen to no-one.'"

Of the character for fairness and impartiality which Javanese history is likely to maintain, we have ample opportunity of forming a judgment, when we are told that it is always composed under the eye of the prince or chief, who is the principal

hero of the piece, that there is no ostensible or responsible author, no individual who claims the merit of the intellectual execution, no more than there is one who claims merit for the workmanship of the rude plough or harrow with which the rice field is tilled. The execution of an historical composition is, in fact, considered as a mechanical process, and intrusted to any one who has dexterity and practice enough to string together verses,—to make rhymes by the hundred,—whose memory can furnish him with the usual routine of similes and metaphors; and, finally, who is master of a tolerably easy and distinct hand writing. I have in my possession the original of the history of the Sultan Mangkubumi, composed in the manner I have mentioned; and a prince of Djojocarta had the complaisance to furnish myself with a circumstantial narrative of political and military transactions, in which I had a share.

There are some facts, to be sure, which are corroborated by these peculiar circumstances under which the narrative of them is composed, and which afford the best and most unquestionable illustrations of the character of the people who are the subjects of them. When facts are unconsciously adduced, as often happens, unfavourable to the national character, or to those in power, we may consider them conclusive.

Tracts on law and ethics are most frequently

in prose, but they are neither numerous nor refined, being chiefly a few fragments from the Hindu Sastras, and some unimportant ones of native production, rude and incongruous, and valuable only in so far as they now and then contribute to afford some happy illustrations of the state of society. The Javanese are not in that state of society in which nice points of casuistry and subtle reasonings on abstract and useless questions are agitated and become the favourite pursuit of men. They have no controversies, no scholastic disputations like the Brahmans of India, or the Doctors of Arabia, and of the middle ages of Europe. They take no interest in such subtleties, and are perhaps unable to comprehend them. Their very language has never been tried on such topics, and wants words to express them. In furnishing examples of the works in question, I shall pursue the principle adopted in respect to historical composition, to select the best, and while I warn the reader how little he has to expect, not disgust him by contemptible and frivolous quotations.

From a work called, in imitation of the Hindus, Niti-Sastra, I extract the following fable, the best and most sensible specimen of the literature of the Javanese that has ever occurred to me in the course of my reading.

"Make choice of an equal friend, and do not

act like the tiger and the forest. A tiger and a forest had united in close friendship, and they afforded each other mutual protection. When men wanted to take wood or leaves from the forest, they were dissuaded by their fear of the tiger, and when they would take the tiger, he was concealed by the forest. After a long time, the forest was rendered foul by the residence of the tiger, and it began to be estranged from him. The tiger, thereupon, quitted the forest, and men having found out that it was no longer guarded, came in numbers and cut down the wood, and robbed the leaves, so that, in a short time, the forest was destroyed, and became a bare place. The tiger, leaving the forest, was seen, and although he attempted to hide himself in clefts and valleys, men attacked him, and killed him, and thus, by their disagreement, the forest was exterminated, and the tiger lost his life."

The same work affords the following:

"The poison of a centipede is in its head; the poison of a scorpion in its tail; the poison of the snake is in its tooth, and one knows where to find them. But the venom of a bad man is fixed to no one spot, but, dispersed over his whole body, cannot be reached at."

If we reflect that the Javanese have professed the Mahomedan religion for between three and

four hundred years, we shall be surprised at the small progress which the Arabic language and literature has made among them. The number of Arabic words introduced into the language is extremely small, greatly smaller than into any other of the more cultivated languages of the Archipelago. The reason is, that the Javanese are little more than half Mahomedans; that their language was more copious, and did not stand in need of such words as the Arabic had to give to it; and that in euphony, orthography, and grammatical structure, nothing can be more adverse to each other than the genius of the two tongues. When, in short, an Arabic word is adopted by the Javanese, it is so thoroughly metamorphosed as scarce to be distinguishable.

The few works which the Javanese have borrowed from an Arabic source, are solely on the subjects of jurisprudence and religion. The greater number are written in the Arabic character, with supplemental consonants to express such sounds as are peculiar to the Javanese. The Javanese language thus written is called by the natives Pegon, meaning mixed, or, as we would express it in a familiar idiom, bastard Arabic, which, in fact, conveys the meaning they intend to attach to the word.

The Arabic language itself is taught to the Javanese youth, and a considerable number of Arabic works are circulated in Java, chiefly on the two

subjects which interest Mahomedans, law and religion, and chiefly from the school of Shafihi, the orthodox doctor, whose peculiar tenets are professed by the Javanese.

In the Javanese schools a smattering of Arabic, with a religious view, is the only branch of instruction. Javanese literature itself is no where taught as a branch of education, but left to be picked up as occasion offers. Its acquisition seems not to be considered as a thing of utility or necessity, but rather as an accomplishment which it may be agreeable to possess, but which it is no discredit to be ignorant of. Arithmetic, or other useful science, is unknown. I have seen many a chief of rank who could neither read nor write, and out of the whole population of an extensive village, you cannot always be sure that you will find an individual who can do so. A tolerable dexterity calculated for business is not to be met with in one among ten thousand. As far as concerns the women, literary education may be said to be altogether unknown. When one is seen who can read and write, she is looked upon as a wonder. I do not think that, during my extensive intercourse with the Javanese, I saw half a dozen who could do so. The palace of the Sultan of Java afforded but a single example.

This want of education among the Javanese is the more remarkable, when contrasted with the

diffusion of it, no matter how superficial or trifling, which is known to prevail in Hindustan and China.

Javanese books are written either on palm leaves or on paper; in the ruder parts of the island usually on the former, and in the more civilized, on the latter. Their paper is a peculiar manufacture of their own, from the fibre of a plant cultivated for the purpose, in appearance and texture resembling thin parchment, but peculiarly liable to be preyed upon by the destructive insects of the climate. Their intercourse with Europe and China supplies them with the papers of these countries, and in their best works that of the former is employed. The pens made use of are either twigs from the Aren palm, or quills as with ourselves, the latter being in general preferred, though their use seems but recently acquired from Europeans.

Though the Javanese character be peculiarly neat and beautiful, very little pains are generally taken with their writings, and no effort to produce those finished and elegant specimens of penmanship which distinguish the manuscripts of the Turks, Persians, Arabs, and Mahomedans of India. It is not in composition alone that the Javanese display the imperfection of the art, for even in the mechanical part of it they are childish and inexpert. The writing of an ordinary letter is a work of pains and trouble, and not one in a thou-

sand can write straight without lines to guide him.

Such is the state of literature among the Javanese, the most literary and civilized of all the Indian Islanders. The object of this work is to render a faithful picture of them as they actually are, and not to draw attention to them, or excite public curiosity regarding them, by representing them as having made a progress in arts and knowledge which does not belong to their stage in society.

A subject more inexplicable than the want of skill and refinement in writing and composition, which is referable at once to barbarity, is the wonderful feebleness and imbecility of all they write, the utter absence of that ardour, energy, and sublimity, which has so often characterized the poetry of nations which had made far less progress in the arts which minister to comfort and necessity than the Javanese. The following remarks will, however, go far to explain this. Every noble effort of the muse among barbarians has been made among free barbarians, and not among the slaves of despotism, for reasons which it would be superfluous to explain. These free barbarians have existed only in Europe. The East is the natural country of despotism. The superior fertility of the soil and benignity of the climate breed a less hardy race,—give rise to a more rapid civilization in the earlier stages of social existence,—to more

wealth in the society,—and for all these reasons, to the means of enslaving the people, or, in other words, of repressing the nobler sentiments which are natural to independent man, when individual character is permitted to develope itself. In proportion as the soil and climate improve, or perhaps nearly in the degree in which we proceed eastward, or towards the equator, and nature furnishes man with necessaries with the smallest effort, despotism increases, and the human intellect becomes weaker. The Persians, Turks, and Arabs, whose individual characters are unquestionably the most independent and energetic of all eastern nations, have also the best poetry; that of the Hindus is much worse; the best poetry of Java is borrowed from the latter. The Burmans and Siamese, from all accounts, are as tame in poetic genius as the Javanese; and for the poetry of the nations which write in the Hieroglyphics of China, nonsense is hardly too bad a name.

I have sometimes thought, that the extreme monotony and uniformity of season, production, and scenery, in the East, might contribute, with political institutions, to deaden and tranquillize the faculties, removing from the mind the powerful incentive of variety, to animate, and rouse it to action. In further illustration of this subject, I may observe, that to this cause, too, may possibly be owing the great similarity, not only between the different

nations of the East at the same period, but the same nation with itself at every known period of its existence. While the nations of the West, like their seasons and productions, are liable to fluctuation and change; now in the savage state; now emerging from it; now semi-barbarians; now civilized, polished, and refined; then decaying, and again relapsing into barbarity; the nations of the East, in point of civilization, continue unchanged,—seem rapidly to advance to a certain state of improvement, and then to continue in all ages the same unchangeable semi-barbarians, when circumstances have not detained them in the state of primeval barbarity and savage existence.

CHAPTER II.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE MALAYS.

Alphabet.—Grammatical Structure.—Written Language, known by the name of Jawi.—General Character.—Ceremonial Language, scanty.—Derivation and Composition.—Literature.—Metrical Composition.—The Pantun.—The Sayar.—Prose Composition.—Romances.—Character of Prose Composition.—Origin of the Malay Language.—Its Diffusion.—Used as a Lingua Franca.—*General Uniformity.—Spoken with most Propriety in the State of Queda.*

The native sounds of the Malay language, like the other improved languages of the Archipelago, are twenty consonants, five vowels, and two diphthongs. The Malay, unlike the other polished languages, has no native alphabet; but, as with the modern Persian, is written in the Arabic character. That it may express alike the sounds of the Arabic language, and those indigenous sounds which do not belong to the Arabs, six supplemental letters are added by the simple contrivance of

increasing the number of the diacritical points; and thus the modern Malay alphabet amounts to thirty-two consonants. The genius of Malay pronunciation, however, being remarkably soft, and vocalic, many of the harsher Arabian sounds are either modified, or omitted in speaking; and, in writing, seldom serve any other purpose than to mark the etymology of a word.

The Malay language is remarkably simple in its grammatical form. Words are not modified by inflection, or other change to express gender, number, or case. Gender is ascribed to no object without sex. Number is denoted by distinct words, expressing plurality or singularity. Cases are always expressed by prepositions.

The verb is hardly less simple than the noun. Of modes it may perhaps be said to have two, the indicative and imperative; of tenses it cannot be said to have more than three, a present, expressed in the simple form of the verb, and a past and future, each expressed by an auxiliary. The most important changes which the verb undergoes, are the changes from a neuter to an active form, which are effected either by affixing or prefixing certain inseparable particles, or both.

The written Malay language is known to well informed Malays by the singular appellation of *Jawi*, a term the origin of which, as it may be connected with the history of the people and their lan-

guage, it may be worth while pausing to make some inquiry about. The word *Jawi* appears to me to be the inflection of the word *Jawa* of the Javanese language, used as the correlative of Kawi, the one, as already described, meaning common, and the other abstruse language. It seems to have been borrowed by the Malays, like many other words, and, as the latter have no native learned or recondite language of their own, in which relation the Arabic stands to the vernacular tongue, they use *Jawi* as the correlative of *Arabi*. The Javanese use the word Jawi as equivalent to translation. By the usual rule, the noun or adjective is changed into a verb, and then they familiarly say of an ancient composition, or of an Arabic one, that it is translated or made into Javanese; as, in earlier periods of our own language, the phrases *making English of*, and *doing into English*, were common. In imitation of them, when the Malays translate from the Arabic, they use the same language precisely, and even extend the word to every species of translation. I imagine it is this very word for the language which the natives of Arabia have erroneously, but naturally enough, bestowed not only on the Malay language, but the people, and hence, as a common appellation, upon the whole of the natives of the Archipelago.

The Malayan language affords no internal evidence of ancient culture. Its genius is destitute of

the bold metaphorical character ascribed to early language, particularly in the East. Like the Javanese, but in an inferior degree, it is rich in simple epithets, and wantonly and uselessly redundant in trifles; and like it, too, is singularly deficient in words of abstract meaning.

The distinction of language, which expresses the relative language of the speakers, extends to but a very few words in Malay. This distinction seems to prevail in the Polynesian languages in proportion as the people who speak them are improved and civilized. That it holds to so trifling an extent in the Malay is an evidence of the small advances made in civilization and improvement by the people who spoke it, previous to their acquaintance with the Arabs, when their improvement assumed a new modification.

On the derivation and composition of the Javanese language, it will not be necessary to enter at length in this place, as the subject will be fully discussed in the chapter containing general remarks on the languages of the Archipelago. The language, as at present written and spoken, may be said to consist of three essential, one necessary ingredient, and about four adventitious ones. The essensial ingredients are the primitive language of the Malayan tribe, the basis of the whole, the great Polynesian language, and the Sanskrit. The necessary ingredient is the Arabic, and the adventi-

tious are small portions of modern Javanese, of the vernacular language of Kalinga, of Persian, and of the languages of modern Europe, mostly Portuguese, with a trifling portion of Dutch, and a still more insignificant one of English.

After several trials, I consider, that out of 100 parts of modern Malay, the following may be considered as the proportion of the various ingredients, viz. primitive Malayan 27 parts, Polynesian 50, Sanskrit 16, Arabic 5, and the adventitious portions the remaining two parts. The primitive portion of the Malay contains, if I may so express it, the skeleton of the language, those portions of it which express its grammatical form; such as the auxiliary verbs, the substantive verb, the prepositions generally, and always those which express the most abstract relations, or, in other words, those which represent the cases of languages complex in their form. To the same source may be referred most of the particles, with the adjectives and verbs of most frequent occurrence, representing the most useful abstract qualities or actions.

The numerous class of words from the Polynesian language are of a more arbitrary character, and generally unconnected with the form of the language. The first dawn of civilization is to be discovered in this portion of the language, as instanced in the names of the numerals, of the useful plants, the useful animals, and the metals. The incur-

sions of the great Polynesian language are very extensive, and have evidently displaced many primitive words which must have existed in the language of the rudest savage, such, for example, as the words sky, moon, mountain, white, black, hand, eye, &c.

The Sanskrit enters into the Malay in much smaller proportions than into any dialect of the Javanese, even the most popular, and exists also in less purity. The most usual class of words supplied by the Sanskrit are mythological terms, and words expressing the most early class of abstract nouns, such as understanding, prudence, cause, time, &c.

The Malayan language, from being written in the Arabic character, and from the more thorough adoption by the people who speak it, than by any other tribe, of the law and religion of Mahomed, has admitted the largest portion of Arabic. Mr Marsden's account of the introduction of Arabic into this language is equally sensible and correct, and deserves to be quoted at length. "The effects produced," says he, "by the introduction of this religion," (the Mahomedan,) "were similar to those which took place in Persia, and many other countries where it has prevailed. The use of the Arabic character superseded that of the ancient mode of writing, and the language became exposed to an inundation of new terms, for the most part theological, metaphysical, legal, and ceremonial, the

knowledge of which is indispensable to those who study the Koran and its commentaries. These terms their writers, in some species of composition, affect to introduce as a proof of their religious as well as of their literary attainments, but few comparatively have been incorporated with, or constitute a part of the language." "About the number of twenty or thirty words may be pointed out as having a claim, from their familiar recurrence, to be considered as Malayan by adoption." * Even these few words are seldom simple terms, but express, conformably to the wants of the language when they were adopted, ideas of considerable abstractness, such as ingenuity, cause, doubt, vigour, value, &c.

The number of Telinga words in the Malay is considerably greater than supposed by Mr Marsden. They form, however, no intrinsic ingredient of the language. The greater number are commercial terms, and the rest words introduced through the medium of translations. One is, indeed, surprised to find the number of words so few, when a well-known fact is adverted to, that much of Malayan learning is at present in the hands of Creole Telingas, in most countries of the Archipelago.

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* Marsden's Malay Grammar.

Mr Marsden and Dr Leyden * have nearly exhausted the subject of Malay literature, one in itself not very fruitful. Malay literature bears none of these marks of originality which characterize that of the Javanese. The great bulk of Malayan composition is not metrical, but prosaic; and it all, or almost all, bears the impression of an Arabic character. I shall render a brief account, first of their poetry, and then of their prose writings. Their metrical compositions are of two descriptions, the Pantun and the Sayar. The Pantun is a stanza of four short lines rhyming alternately. The first two lines of the quatrain, in the accurate language of Mr Marsden, "are figurative, containing sometimes one, but oftener two unconnected images; whilst the latter two are moral, sentimental, or amorous; and we are led to expect that they should exemplify and constitute the application of the figurative part. They do in some few instances, but, in general, the thought is wrapt in such obscurity, that not the faintest analogy between them can be traced, and we are even disposed to doubt whether any is intended, or occurs otherwise than by chance." These Pantuns are often recited in alternate contest for several hours.

Such playful trifles do not deserve the name

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* Asiatic Researches, Vol. X.

of poetry or literature, and yet they are the only description of composition which can justly be considered national or original among the Malays. It is in the light only of amusing trifles that the Malays themselves, indeed, consider them; and they are scarcely of higher dignity in their estimation than the nonsensical rhymes which we call crambo are in our own. A few of the best are committed to memory, and we often hear them repeated. The following are favourable specimens:

Mărak anggok-anggok
Marak de-atas kota
Bărgrak ujung Sanggul
Naik sri muka.

The peacock nods his head;
The peacock that sits on the castle,
When the loose end of her braided hair trembles,
New beauties rise in her countenance.

Trang bulan arăm tamarăm
Hantu bărjalan lakki bini.
Jangan tuan tăraram aram
Saya tiada datang kă-sini.

By the dim light of the moon,
Wander spectres of both sexes.
Chide me not again, my love,
For I will not come hither.

Jika tiada karna bulan
Musakăn bintang timur tinggi.
Jika tiada karana tuan
Masakăn abang datang kămari.

But for the moon,
Would the eastern star be so high?
But for you, my love,
Would your elder brother (lover) come hither?

The Sayar, correctly written Shaiar, is, as its name imports, of Arabic origin. It is a measure of rhyming couplets, of from eight to twelve syllables to a line, resembling the rhyming metre of the modern languages of Europe. Poems of this description are of considerable length, and their subject is either an avowed romance, or a scrap of history treated as if it were one. They may truly be said to be poetry only to the eye and the ear, for they are wholly wanting in the essentials of poetry, fancy, and passion. The following is a favourable specimen of the Sayar as rendered into English by Dr Leyden:

" When my mistress looks forth from her window, her eye sparkling like a star, its brilliant rays glancing and glittering, her elder brother cannot support its lustre. Like the red mango is the hue of her cheek, becoming her tapering neck, traversed with shadows whenever she swallows. Her features like those of a shadow or scenic figure; —her forehead like the new moon in its first day; —her eyebrows curved so fair I could devour her. Long has she been chosen to be my mistress,— wearing a ring set with gems of Sailan,—her long

nails shining like lightning, transparent as a string of pearls;—her waist slender, and extremely elegant;—her neck turned like a polished statue. Eloquent in the enunciation of her words. Her parting words like the crimson red wood; not by dress, but by herself adorned. *Black* are her teeth stained with *Baja* powder. Graceful, slender, appearing like a queen. Her locks adorned with the Saraja flowers;—her features beautiful, with no defect of symmetry. My soul is often fluttering, ready to depart;—glancing eagerly forth from my eyes, and quite unable to return to its station."*

Prose composition, the largest portion of Malayan literature, consists chiefly of romances, and of fragments of real story, so garbled and so obscured by fable, as to deserve the same name. The subjects of these are Hindu, Javanese, Arabian, and Telinga legends, with some fragments of domestic story of no remote period. The Mahabarat and Ramayana, through the medium of Javanese paraphrases, as may be discovered by the intermixture of Javan localities, have afforded the subject of the first. The second consist of the adventures of the hero of Javanese romance, Raden Panji. The

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. X.

origin of the third is too obvious to be insisted upon; and that of the fourth is traced to the intimate connection which, in modern times, has existed between the Malays and the people of Telinga, in the progress of which, many of the latter have settled and colonized among the former, exercising among them, in many respects, the prerogatives of superior civilization and endowment.

A literal or faithful translation from any language is not attempted. Perhaps the extremely opposite genius of the Malay and languages of continental Asia especially, would be hostile to such an undertaking. Were it otherwise, the careless and inaccurate Malays would be found incapable of accomplishing a work demanding a labour and precision, which is very adverse to the genius of their character.

I shall select, as a specimen of their prose composition, an extract from the story of Hang Tuah, Laksimana, or admiral of the King of Malacca, upon the invasion of Albuquerque, the same chief whose gallantry and patriotism are commemorated by the Portuguese historians. The work affords us but mere glimpses of true history, and is full of fable, anachronism, and discrepancy, but deserves some consideration for the naked fidelity with which it paints the manners of the Malays of the time.

"Sătălla sudah, maka minuman pula di angkat

orang, maka piala yăng bàrtatakkan ratna mutu manikam itu-pun di-pă:edarkan ,oranglah pada sŭgala Pagawe dan Patuwanan; maka rabána pun băr-bunyilah dan băduan yang baik suwara itu-pun bărnyanyilah tărlalu mardu suwaranya; maka sakalian pun ramailah bărbangkit mănarik; maka Tun Tuah pun mănyămbah kapada raja muda, lalu bărbangkit, sărta mămăgang hulu kris panjang tămpa Malaka tărlalu amat baik sikap-nya mănarik itu, lalu bărlompat sapărti partikaman sarta mănyămbah lalu suka; maka raja-muda pun suka mălihat iya tiada jămu pada mata bagănda; maka didalam hati bagănda sunggohnah Tun Tuah ini hulubalang, manis barang lakunya. Sătăla itu, maka Tun Jăbat pun mănyămbah Raja-muda, lalu mănarik; maka Hang Lakyer dan Hang Lakyu pun măngambil piala dari pada orang măngisi piala itu lalu di-anggapkan pada Hang Kasturi; maka Hang Kasturi pun mănanggap Adipati Palembang, maka săgala Pagawe dan Patuanan pun bărsoraklah tărlalu ramai; maka Adipati Palembang pun mănyămbah lalu bangun mănarik; maka di-anggap-kanya pada Tun Rana Diraja; maka Tun Rana Diraja pun mănyambah pada Raja-muda lalu bangun mănarik; maka Tun Tuah, Hang Jăbat, Hang Kasturi pun măngambil piala itu dari-pada tangan orang măngisi piala itu, maka dipănohi dăngan arak, maka di-bawah-nya mănarik; maka di-anggapkan kapada Tun Rana Diraja, maka Tun Rana Diraja tiada khabarakan diri, lalu tărduduk,

maka Tun Rana Diraja pun tărlalu suka sărta tartunggang-tunggang; maka Raja pun tărlalu suka tărtawa mălihat kalakuan Tun Rana Diraja mănarik itu; maka rabana pun tărlalu ramai, maka Raja pun malihat kapada Tun Tuah dăngăn isharat, mănyuroh mălarah Tumănggung Sri Sroja; maka Tun Tuah pun măngambil piala diponohi-nya dăngan arak, lalu di-bawah nya mănarik, maka ulih Tun Tuahdi-larahkan-nya kapada Tumenggung, sărta kata-nya santăp-lah datuh titah duli yang dipărtuan muda. Dami di-dăngar Tumănggung, maka di-ambil piala itu sărta kata-nya daulăt Tuan ku, maka piala itu-pun di-junjung ulih Tumanggung lalu di-minumnya; maka Tumanggung mănyămbah lalu manarik, maka piala pun săbagai di larah orang pada Tumănggung, maka sigra di-ambil ulih Tumanggung piala itu di părsămbah-kănnya pada Băndahara; maka sigra di-sambut ulih Băndahara mănyămbah lalu bangun mănarik dua tiga lăngka lalu iya mălătakkan kris-nya; maka Băndahara pun sujud pada kaki Raja maka băgănda pun tahulah akan kahăndak Băndahara itu; maka băgănda pun sigra bangkit dari attas Pătrana itu mămăluh leher Băndahara; maka piala itu-pun di-sambut ulih Băndahara, lulu di junjung di-minum-nya, maka Băndahara pun bărasa khecallah, maka băgănda pun bărbangkit mănarik; maka Băndahara pun măngambil piala dari-pada orang măngisi piala itu; maka Băndahara pun bărbangkit mănarik lalu di-părsăm-

bahkan pada raja muda; maka di-sambut raja muda piala itu lalu bărkata, "ayo mama Băndahara mabuk-lah kita," maka sămbah Băndahara daulat Tuan-ku, maka Raja pun duduk, maka săgala Păgawe dan Pa-tuanan habis-lah mabuk, ada yang sămpat pulang ka-rumah-nya, ada yang răbah di tăngah jalan tărtidor, ada yang di usung ulih hămba-nya pulang, tăr-banyak pula tidor sagănăp kădai."

"Then the attendants produced the liquors, and cups, studded with precious stones, were placed in order before the chiefs of various ranks. The tabours were sounded. The damsels of sweet voices sung—passing melodious was the air. The guests gave themselves up to pleasure, and rose to dance. The Laksimana began after making his obeisance to the prince. He rose, holding in his hand the head of his long kris, the workmanship of Mal-lacca. Passing good was his figure in the dance —bounding like an experienced stabber, he bow-ed to the prince—he was happy. The young prince was delighted with what he saw, and viewed him with eyes unsatiated, saying to himself, assured-ly Hang Tuah is a champion—his every gesture is becoming. Tun Jăbbat made his obeisance to the young prince, and rose to dance. Lakyer and Lacyu took the cups from those who were employed in filling them. They were pledged by Hang kasturi. Hang kasturi challenged the Adipati of Palembang to the dance. The chiefs,

in their mirth, shouted aloud. The chief of Palembang made his obeisance, and rose to dance. He challenged Tun Rana Diraja. Rana Diraja bowed; and rose. Tun Tuah, Hang Jăbbat, and Hang Kasturi, took the cups from the hands of those employed in filling them, and they filled them with liquor. They danced with the cups in their hands, and challenged Rana Diraja to drink. The reason of Tun Rana Diraja was overpowered—he sat down and nodded as he sat. The young prince was rejoiced, and laughed exceedingly when he beheld the condition of the chief. The tabours were struck anew. The prince glanced at Tun Tuah, hinting to him to press the Tumangung Sri Saroja to drink. Tun Tuah took a cup and filled it up, holding it in his hand while he danced. He replenished it for the Tumangung, and presenting it, said, 'Drink, my Lord, according to the commands of the youthful ruler of the kingdom.' The Tumangung, hearing the prince's commands, took the cup, and placing it respectfully over his head, drank, bowed, and rose to dance. The attendants plied him with fresh cups. The Tumangung presented the cup to the Băndahara, which the latter accepted, and rose to dance a few steps, when he laid down his kris, and bowed at the feet of the prince. The prince perceived the wish of the minister. He rose from his seat and embraced him. The Bandahara took the cup

again, drank, and was intoxicated. The prince rose and danced. The Bandahara took a cup from the attendants, filled it, danced, and presented it to the prince. The prince took the cup, saying, 'My relation, alas, I am already drunk.'

"And the chiefs became one and all intoxicated. Some were just able to reach their own houses—some dropped down and fell asleep on the way—some were carried home by their slaves—and more slept scattered here and there in the stalls of the market-place."

Malayan romances, whatever be their origin, are singularly destitute of spirit. To point a moral is never attempted; and the gratification of a puerile and credulous fancy seems the sole object. All prose composition is remarkably monotonous. This arises, perhaps, in a good measure, from the singularly inartificial grammatical form of the language, which admits of no order but the natural order of ideas, and renders it almost impossible to extend a sentence beyond a single clause. This quality of the language, assisted, probably, by that unskilfulness in composition which is natural to the rude period of written language, unaided by metre, gives rise to the practice of marking the beginning of each sentence by a particle or particles, almost exclusively appropriated to this use, such as *now*, *and*, *then*, *moreover*, &c. The perpetual

recurrence of these adds greatly to the monotony complained of.

The Malay language, as now described, had its origin in the interior kingdom of Menangkabao, on Sumatra; from thence it spread to the Malayan peninsula, and here, in all probability, received the cultivation which reduced it to its present form. From the Malayan peninsula, it spread by colonization to the coasts of Borneo, and back to Sumatra; and some straggling adventurers carried the partial use of it to the coasts of Java, Celebes, and the countries farther east.

The great defect of this language for composition, its simplicity of structure, is the very quality to which it chiefly owes its currency among foreigners. It is the *lingua franca* of the Archipelago, the medium of intercourse between the natives of those countries themselves, as well as between the latter and every description of strangers. It is farther fitted for ready acquirement, by the frequency of liquid and vocalic sounds, and by the absence of consonants of harsh or difficult enunciation. In speaking and in writing, it has the same sort of currency, but a greater degree of it, that the Persian language has in Hindustan.* Those

* "The language (Malay) in these parts is no less *epidemick* than are the Latine, Arabick, and Sclavonian elsewhere."—Herbert's Travels, p. 366.

who read and write a language written in the same character with the Koran, pride themselves on the circumstance, and view with some contempt those whose learning is expressed in a *profane* alphabet.

There is a surprising uniformity in the language of all the Malayan tribes, both oral and written, a circumstance to be attributed to the similarity of their situations, and the stationary condition of their manners throughout, since the period when their language assumed its present form. The language of the people of Menangkabao, the parent tribe, differs most from the rest. As far as I can judge, the best Malay is written and spoken in the state of Queda, or Keddah. Here, at least, the Malays are most anxious about the purity of their language, and most scrupulous in excluding foreign words. In the neighbourhood of the other great tribes of the Archipelago, the language is often corrupted by admixture with their dialects; and in the vicinity of former, or existing European establishments, by a mixture of Portuguese and Dutch, still more incompatible with its genius.

CHAPTER III.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF CELEBES.

A wide Difference between the Languages of the Eastern and Western portions of the Archipelago.—Alphabet of Celebes.—Two great Languages spoken in Celebes, the Bugis and Macassar.—Character of both.—Their Literature.—Specimen of their Poetry.—Composition and Derivation of the Languages of the Eastern portion of the Archipelago.

THE moment we pass the island of Lombok, proceeding eastward, striking features of difference are, to the most ordinary observer, discernible in the manners, customs, and state of civilization of the people of the Indian islands. The great island of Celebes is the centre from which that peculiar description of civilization which characterizes this portion of the Archipelago seems to have emanated. The eastern portion of the Archipelago has, indeed, received improvement through the more general sources of civilization, of which all the nations have partaken; but a more local one seems to have likewise operated.

The languages and literature of Celebes, though in many features of resemblance partaking of the character of those of the more western countries, differ very essentially from them. The alphabet, in the first place, takes a new character; the letters of which it consists taking a new form, as little like that of the Javanese as the latter is to the Arabic or Roman. The alphabet of Celebes consists of eighteen consonants and five vowels, to which are added, sometimes, four supplemental consonants, being merely four of the first eighteen aspirated, and an additional vowel. It is singular that the peculiar and technical classification of the Sanskrit alphabet should have been adopted in the alphabet of Celebes, though rejected in that of Java.

Besides the dialects of some abject savages and of some tribes more improved, two great languages prevail in Celebes, the language of the Bugis and Macassars, as they are denominated by the people of the western portion of the Archipelago, and from them by us; or Wugi and Mangkasara, as they call themselves. The Bugis is the language of the more powerful and numerous nation, and the most cultivated and copious. The Macassar is more simple in structure, abounds less in synonyms, and its literature is more scanty. Both partake of the common simplicity in structure of

all the languages of the Archipelago, and are distinguished above all, even the Malay, for a soft and vocalic pronunciation. Of the two the Macassar possesses this property in the most eminent degree. Except the soft nasal *ng*, no word or syllable in either language ever ends in a consonant, and no consonant ever coalesces with another. The organs of the people seem hardly capable of pronouncing a consonant so situated, so that even foreign words, when used, or adopted in the language, must undergo the change implied in this principle of orthoepy, whether they be from the guttural Arabic, the grunting Dutch, or the hissing English. The best Macassar is spoken in the state of Goa or Macassar Proper, and the worst in the principality of Turatea, the inhabitants of which are, by their fastidious neighbours, accused of injuring its natural softness by an uncouth pronunciation.

The Bugis are said to be possessed of a recondite and ancient language parallel to the Kawi of Java and the Pali of the Buddhist nations; but the knowledge of it is confined to a very few, and I have met no specimens.

The learning of the Macassars, as already mentioned, is inconsiderable; but the Bugis have a considerable body of literature, which consists of tales and romances founded on national legends and traditions,—translations of Malayan and Java-

nese romances,—historical accounts of their transactions since the introduction of Mahomedanism, and works on law and religion from the Arabic. All of them, from the most authentic accounts which I have been able to collect, are characterized by the same feebleness, childishness, and extreme credulity. which I have ascribed to Javanese literature, and probably they are still more tame and infantine. When the reasoning faculties are less concerned than the passions, the poetry of the nations of Celebes, who possess more individual energy of character than any other people of the Archipelago, and among whom women, in particular, enjoy privileges seldom yielded to them among barbarians, may be expected to assume a more respectable character. The following love song from the Macassar, though under the disadvantage of a translation through the Malay, may still be adduced as evidence in favour of this supposition.

"Let the world disapprove of thee, I love thee still. When two suns appear at once in the sky, my love for thee may be altered. Sink into the earth, or pass through the fire, and I will follow thee. I love thee, and our love is reciprocal, but fate keeps us asunder. May the gods bring us together, or to me this love will be fatal. I should count the moment of meeting more precious than that of entering the fields of bliss. Be angry with

me, or cast me aside, still my love shall not change. Nothing but your image meets the eye of my fancy, whether I sleep or wake. Visions alone are propitious to my passion; in these only I see thee and converse with thee. When I expire, let it not be said that I died by the ordinary decrees of fate, but say that I died through love of thee. What are comparable to the delightful visions which paint my love so fresh to my fancy? Let me be separated from my native country, and at a distance from thee, still my heart is not far from thee. In my sleep, how often am I found wandering about and going in search of thee, hoping, perchance, I may find thee?"

The Bugis, as the most copious and ancient tongue, and that of the most numerous and powerful people, may be looked upon, reasonably, as that which has exerted upon the cognate languages of the eastern portion of the Archipelago the local influence to which I have alluded.

These tongues, as, for example, the languages of Sambawa, Flores, Timur, Butung, Salayer, &c. may be said to be composed of the following materials: —the original meagre dialect of each savage tribe —the Bugis—the great Polynesian language— the Sanskrit—the Arabic, with trifling admixtures of the same ingredients mentioned in speaking of the composition of the Javanese. The Macassar

and Bugis languages have a great many words in common, but they have many, too, radical and invariable, which bear no resemblance; they are intimately connected, but are not dialects of one tongue, and the people who speak them are mutually unintelligible to each other. The proportion in which the great Polynesian language enters into those of Celebes may be judged of from this, that in a short vocabulary of the Bugis, about one-fourth is discovered to be of that common tongue. It may be remarked, that words of this class, still current in Celebes, are frequently such as in the languages of the western portion of the Archipelago have become obsolete, or are appropriated to more solemn occasions than those of common life.

Of the Sanskrit portion of the Celebesian languages, the quantity, compared to that in the Javanese, or even Malay, is inconsiderable. The words will be found to be mostly religious terms, or the names of substances, the use of which has been introduced among the people from India. Every language of the Archipelago will be found to have ingrafted upon it a quantity of Sanskrit, proportioned to the extent to which it has been itself cultivated; or, which is nearly the same thing, to the civilization of the people who speak it. The people of Celebes, and their language, are less improved than those of the western islands, general-

ly; and this accounts for the paucity of Sanskrit in their language. Their greater distance from the original source of that language, the continent of India, will contribute to produce the same effect.

CHAPTER IV.

MINOR LANGUAGES OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

THE Javanese, the Malay, the Bugis, and Macassar, of which an account has been rendered in the three preceding chapters, are the most cultivated languages of the Archipelago. Besides the many unwritten languages of negro and brown-complexioned savages, there are many written languages of tribes less powerful and cultivated than the great nations of Java, Sumatra, and Celebes. These are the Batta, Rejang, and Lampung of Sumatra; the Sunda of Java, the Madurese, the Bali, and Lombok; and to the east, some languages written in the character of Celebes, as those of Sambawa, Butung, &c. Of most of these, copious examples are given in the vocabulary; and I shall content myself here with offering a brief sketch of one or two of those, concerning which I have received the best information.

The *Sunda* is the language of the mountaineers of the western part of Java, of perhaps one-third of the area of the island, but, in round numbers,

probably of not more than of one-tenth of its inhabitants.

The number of consonants in the Sunda is eighteen, the *cerebral** *d* and *t* of the Javan alphabet being wanting. Besides the ordinary vowels of the Javanese, they have several uncouth sounds, similar to those which prevail in the Celtic dialects, and which, as speech becomes more cultivated, appear in all ages and countries to be laid aside. Contrary to the practice of the Javanese, a word or syllable may in the Sunda begin with a vowel; nay two vowels may immediately follow each other, without any contrivance to obviate the hiatus that is the consequence.

Words are devoid of any inflection that marks gender, number, relation, time, or mode. The possessive or genitive case of nouns is determined by position, the first of two nouns being the governing one. This seems an universal rule in the structure of the languages of the Indian islands. Actual property in an object, is expressed by a distinct term, (*boga,*) importing this sort of rela-

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* "This series of consonants is pronounced by turning and applying the tip of the tongue far back against the palate, which, producing a hollow sound as if proceeding from the head, it is distinguished by the term Murddhanya, which Mr Halhed, in his elegant grammar of the Bengal language, has translated *cerebral.*"—Wilkins' Sanskrit Grammar, p. 8.

tion. The dative and ablative cases are express-ed by prepositions, and the objective or accu-sative case simply marked by the precedence of the transitive verb, without a preposition. The pronouns are peculiar. The tenses of the verb are formed by auxiliaries, but of these there are but two, one implying a perfect past, and another a future. A passive voice is formed by prefixing an inseparable particle, (*di*.) The verb is changed from a neuter to a transitive sense, by prefixing an inseparable particle (*ma*,) or, occasionally, by sub-joining another (*an*,) or by both contrivances united. These few words comprehend the grammar of this most simple and inartificial tongue.

The disposition, in the circumstances of society in the Indian islands, to form a language of defer-ence and respect, is discoverable in the simple speech of the Sūndas; but it is not carried far, being confined to some words of most familiar oc-currence, as the pronouns, the names of parts of the body, and of the relations of consanguinity.

There are no books in the Sunda language, for the Sundas have no national literature. The few who have any education aim at a little instruction in Arabic and Javanese, and even business is gene-rally conducted in the latter.

The *Madurese* is the language of the island of Madura, and of the emigrants from that island on

Java, in round numbers of probably three hundred thousand people; a people inhabiting a poorer soil, and more rude and needy than the Javanese. Madura is separated from Java by a strait, in one place hardly two miles broad, yet the languages of the two islands are scarcely more like than any other two languages of the western portion of the Archipelago.

All the observations made respecting the Sunda language apply generally to the rude and uncultivated dialect of Madura. Like it, its consonant sounds are, by two, fewer than those of the Javanese; and it has, like it, some uncouth vocalic sounds. Upon the whole, the language of the Madurese is a more copious and cultivated speech than that of the Sundas, as they are themselves a more improved race. The refinement, or its kind, implied by the dialect of ceremony, takes a wider range, and the language is occasionally the medium of epistolary correspondence. Still, the Javanese is the language of literature and important business; and literary education implies a knowledge of it.

The *Balinese* is the sole language of the island of Bali, throughout all its states, and has been of late years spread by conquest to the island of Lombok. If the accounts we receive of the population of Bali can be relied on, it is spoken by half a million of people. It is a rude, simple, and pe-

culiar dialect, more improved, however, than the languages of the Sundas and Madurese; and in particular, having a copious and refined language of deference, borrowed from the Sanskrit and Javanese.

The language of law, literature, and religion, is the *Kawi* of Java, which, as written and taught in Bali, offers no new feature of distinction. The literature of the Balinese seems to be the same as that of the Javanese in the days of their Hinduism; and the ancient indigenous legends of the Javanese are as well known in Bali as in their parent island.

Alphabets arranged according to the Devanagari classification

REJANG ALPHABET.

ka ga nga ta da na ba ma

cha ja nia sa ra la ya wa ha mba ngga nda nja a

LAMPUNG.

ka ga nga pa ba ma la da na

cha ja ma ra a la sa sa wa ha

WUGI OR ALPHABET OF CELEBES.

l m ph t d r ch j nya chh h r l s a ch e i o u

Specimen of Bugis writing.

Alphabets not arranged according to the Dewanagari classification

MODERN JAVANESE ALPHABET.

Open Consonants, which the Vowels a or o are always understood to follow.

ho no cho ro ko do to so wo lo po do jo yo nyo mo go bo to ngo

Consonants following Consonants without a Vowel intervening

ho no cho ko do to so u lo po do jo nyo mo bo to

Contractions of Consonants

k r medial y no *marks the termination of a word in a consonant*

Great Letters used on occasions of Ceremony

so to so po go bo

Vowels and orthographical marks

a â e

Beginning of a new canto

Beginning of a Stanza

Period

BATTAK.

a ta na ma ta da ba pa ya ga 'a ta nga n-a i u

TAGALA.

ba ca da ga ha la n-a na pa sa tu ya a e i o u

Specimen of Javanese writing

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES.

Resemblance between the whole of the Languages of the Indian Archipelago.—Resemblance in Sound.—In Grammatical form.—In Idiom.—Redundancy on some Subjects and poverty on others.—Great variety of Written Character.—Three Alphabets on Sumatra.—One on Celebes.—A current and obsolete Alphabet on Java.—East-insular Alphabets cannot be traced to the Hindus.—The improved Languages may be resolved into seven component parts.—Radical portion of each language distinct.—Languages numerous in each Country in the direct ratio of their Barbarity.—Arguments in Favour of an aboriginal Language with each Tribe.—Great Polynesian Language.—Pervades the whole of the languages of Polynesia.—Words of this Language most numerous in the most cultivated Dialects.—Nature of this Class of Words.—Conjectures respecting the People of whom the Great Polynesian was the Language.—Arguments in favour of Java being their country.—Influence of the Polynesian long prior to that of the Sanskrit.—Cognate Languages.—Probable history of their Reciprocal Influence on each other, illustrated in the Influence of the Malay on the neighbouring Languages.—Examples of that Influence, illustrated in the History of the Malay Language.—Sanskrit words admitted into all the improved Languages,—Probable history of its Introduction, and arguments in Support of the Hypothesis adduced.—Kawi, a recondite Language, how formed.—Sanskrit

words probably in great part disseminated among the other Languages through the Language of Java.—Introduction of Arabic.—Its History and Extent.—Its Genius very incompatible with that of the East-Insular Languages.—Other Oriental Languages introduced into the Dialects of the Archipelago.--Telinga.—Persian.—Chinese.—European Languages.

In the general character, particular form, and genius, of the innumerable languages spoken within the limits of the Indian islands, there is a remarkable resemblance, while all of them differ widely from those of every other portion of the world. This observation extends to every country, from the north-western extremity of Sumatra, to the western shores of New Guinea, and may be even carried to Madagascar to the west, the Phillipines to the east, and the remotest of Cook's discoveries to the south. * The first point of similitude to which I shall refer, is that of sound or pronunciation. Twenty consonants and five vowels are the greatest variety which these languages generally admit. Two diphthong sounds only are found. In some of the more barbarous dialects, to be sure, the vocalic sounds appear to a stranger more various; but a minuter acquaintance discovers some of these to be no more than uncouth substitutes for more ordinary sounds.

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* Archeologia, Vol. VI.

The resemblance in grammatical structure is not less curious. The languages are invariably of simple structure. There is not one tongue within the whole Archipelago of complex form, like the great original languages of Europe and Asia. The relations of nouns are formed by prepositions; the tenses of verbs by auxiliaries; the passive forms by the prefixing of particles; and the transitive by affixing them in a manner extremely analogous in all.*

In idiom and genius the parallel is still more complete; and here, indeed, we are less surprised that the character of various tribes, however distinct in their origin, yet formed under similar circumstances, should have stamped a character on their languages, than when we find the same cause extending to the very sounds and grammatical forms of their dialects. Of similarity of idiom one example will be conclusive. The sun is expressed in at least ten languages of the Archipelago by a compound epithet, which means "the eye of day." Yet the words are frequently dissimilar in sound, each language rendering it by its own vocables. In all the more improved tongues we discover, throughout, the same redundancy of expression on familiar subjects, and the same poverty on higher and more abstract ones. For the former, the Javanese has often ten synonyms, and the Bugis six or seven, the Malay

* The adjective always follows the noun; and the first of two nouns is invariably the governing one.

frequently four or five; but for abstract words, particularly such as relate to the operations of the mind, and which are familiar in the most barbarous ages of European languages, the deficiency of every one of the Polynesian languages is pitiable. For *mind* we have nothing but the metaphorical sense of the word *heart*; for *understanding* we are driven to the Sanskrit or Arabic; for *memory* we have nothing but the verb to remember, used substantively; for *friendship* we fly again to the Arabic; for *dissimulation*, scholars have *got up* an awkward translation, meaning a *heart awry*; for *merit* there is no word at all; for *modesty* none but the one that expresses *shame*; for *integrity* no expression whatever; for *right*, expressing either just claim, or expressing property, none; for *reason* none; for *argument* none.* Whenever we press the languages of the oriental islands into our service on such occasions, we offer violence to their genius. The people are strangers to the modes of expression in which such words are necessary, and when foisted into their language, the result is ambiguity or nonsense. The East-Insular languages, then, may justly be characterized as not *copious*, but *wordy*.

There are no less than five written characters known among the nations of the Indian islands,

* Not one of the East-Insular languages distinguishes between air at rest and air in motion; there is, in fact, no native term for wind.

without mentioning the Roman or Arabic characters, the latter of which is of universal use among the nations which speak the Malay language; the Tagala of the Phillippines, and the obsolete character of the Sundas of Java. These five characters are in form as distinct, and in character as unlike, as can well be supposed in alphabets which represent languages so similar in sound and formation; and I see no rational ground for concluding that they are from one origin. However we may pretend to refine on the difficulties of inventing alphabets, there is one fact which we cannot keep out of sight, that all alphabets whatever have been inventions of rude and barbarous ages; of ages so remote, that in all parts of the world they are beyond the reach of historical record. There seems no cause to exclude the barbarians of the Indian islands from the list of those who invented alphabets. Alphabets, like other great inventions, were, no doubt, the discoveries of highly gifted geniuses, who anticipated their time and nation by many ages; and it would be unfair to attempt to trace their invention by referring to the general state of mind in the barbarous nations which possess them. The great number of these alphabets, while no less than three of them exist on one island, has been looked upon as a singular and puzzling fact; but it appears rather a proof of the imperfect intercourse which existed in early times between the different tribes or nations of the same coun-

try. The inhabitants of Sumatra have three distinct characters; but Sumatra is a great island little cultivated, and the intercourse between its inhabitants is very inconsiderable. The aboriginal inhabitants of Borneo are a few miserable savages, who never had an alphabet. The inhabitants of Celebes, who are not savages, occupy but a small portion of it; and, besides, from the geographical character of their island, must always have been a maritime people, which implies considerable and easy intercourse. The two nations of Java have, it may be alleged, but one alphabet; but then nine-tenths of the population are one people, and the weaker and more barborous were subjected to the more powerful and civilized; not to say that on ancient and rude stones we still discover, among the Sundas, the vestiges of a national alphabet, supplanted by that of their conquerors.

Attempts have been made to trace the written characters of the Indian islands to a Hindu origin; but of this hypothesis it may be remarked, that while the portion of the language of the Hindus which is contained in those of the Indian islands is distinctly from one origin, and bears the most uniform marks of identity among the most distant tribes, the *five alphabets* are not only themselves dissimilar, but quite unlike to any ancient or modern written character of India. The arguments used in favour of the Indian origin of the alpha-

bets of the Archipelago, are their being written from right to left, the principle of their formation, and their peculiar classification; while their diverging from the parent alphabet, with their own dissimilarity, are left to be accounted for by the effects of time, and by the difference brought about by the practice of writing, in some cases on paper, or scratching, in others, on palm leaves.

The first argument is not worth examining, or at least is fully refuted, by the circumstance of one of the five alphabets being written, not from the right to the left, nor from the left to the right, but, fantastically, from the bottom to the top of the page. In the principle of formation, the only striking similarity is in the consonants always implying the short vowel *a* though not expressed; and with respect to the classification, this is not universal, it happening that two of the alphabets, that of the Battaks and Javanese, believed to be the most ancient, and the latter, undoubtedly, that of the most polished language, are not classed according to the Dewanagri order, but in an arbitrary manner. It is curious to discover, at the same time, the alphabet of the distant island of Celebes classed on the Hindu principle. An additional argument may be drawn from the fact of inscriptions, in the true *Dewanagari* character being found in Java, among those in the national character.

The fact seems to be, both with respect to the

principle of formation and classification, that they might have been modified on the introduction of Hinduism by the priests of that religion; and, if we reflect that, in the early age of letters in every country, learning is entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rather an instrument of priestcraft than of common utility to the society, we can readily understand how easily such a modification might have been introduced.

Time, and the circumstance of writing, either on paper, or palm leaves, or bark, must be deemed wholly inadequate to account for the difference between the different Polynesian alphabets and the supposed parent alphabet. The alphabet of Java is written to-day with little or no difference on Bali, and on Palembang in Sumatra, after the intercourse between them has been interrupted for between three and four hundred years, and although in Java the character be, almost always, written on paper, and in Bali invariably on the Palmyra leaf.

Any of the languages of the more improved tribes of the Archipelago, may be resolved into the seven following component parts: 1. The primitive language of the rude horde with which the tribe originated, which may be looked upon as the radical portion of the language. 2. The Great Polynesian language, a language which extends its influence from Madagascar to New Guinea and the South Sea Islands. 3. The language of the

tribe or tribes in its immediate neighbourhood. 4. The Sanskrit, or ancient language of India. 5. The Arabic. 6. A few words of other Asiatic languages; and, 7. A still smaller portion of the languages of Europe. Each of these will demand some observations.

In the infancy of society, in every part of the world, men are broken into small communities, numerous in proportion to their barbarism, and, as they improve, tribes and hordes become nations, extensive according to the degree of their civilization. Languages follow the same progress. In the savage state they are great in number,—in improved societies few. The state of languages on the American continent, affords a convincing illustration of this fact, and it is not less satisfactorily explained in that of the Indian islands.

The negro races, who inhabit the mountains of the Malayan peninsula, in the lowest and most abject state of social existence, though numerically few, are divided into a great many distinct tribes, speaking as many different languages. Among the rude and scattered population of the island of Timor, it is believed that not less than forty languages are spoken. On Ende and Flores we have also a multiplicity of languages; and, among the cannibal population of Borneo, it is not improbable that many hundreds are spoken. Civilization advances as we proceed westward; and in the con-

siderable island of Sambawa there are but five tongues; in the civilized portion of Celebes, not more than four; in the great island of Sumatra, not above six; and in Java but two.

Abundant proof of the existence of a distinct language in each tribe, may be adduced. The languages are of course original and unmixed, in proportion as circumstances have kept the tribes distinct. Colour, complexion, and physical configuration, have naturally kept the negro tribes distinct from the brown-coloured races, and their languages are, therefore, nearly in a state of pristine originality. The languages spoken by the negro races which inhabit the mountains of the Malayan Archipelago, hardly contain a word in common with the languages of the brown-coloured civilized races, and differ so much from those of each other, that Malayan interpreters must be employed to conduct the petty intercourse which now and then takes place between them. The languages of Tambora, Ternati, Ceram, and Saparua, have hardly a word of the more improved dialects of the Archipelago, and differ, just as widely, from the languages of the negroes at the other extremity of the Archipelago. These are the languages of some of the least improved tribes with which we are acquainted.

The evidence of an original language with every primitive horde, is even to be discovered

still, in the more improved and mixed dialects. This is most remarkable in the class of words connected with the metaphysical structure of language, and which, from their very nature, did not admit of being displaced by foreign words, such as the substantive and auxiliary verbs; the prepositions representing the most abstract of the relations of cases; the termination representing a possessive case, and the inseparable particles representing a passive and a transitive signification of the verb; and, perhaps, above all, the common class of particles.*

The merit of distinctly pointing out the existence of a great Polynesian language, as pervading the Indian Archipelago, belongs to Mr Marsden; of all the writers who have treated of the literature, history, or manners of the Archipelago, the most laborious, accurate, able, and original; and previous to whose writings we possessed neither correct nor philosophical accounts of these singular countries.†

* "The particles of every language shall teach them whither to direct and where to stop their inquiries, for wherever the evident meaning and origin of the particles of any language can be found, *there* is the certain source of the whole." Diversions of Purley, Vol. I p. 147.

† The learned Reland points out the extraordinary connection between the Malay, the other languages of the Archipelago, and the Madagascar, but he draws no important or interesting conclusion from this singular fact.—Diss. XI. De Linguis Insularum Orientalium.

In collating the languages of the Archipelago, the most ordinary observer must be struck with the prodigious number of words in all the more civilized languages, radically and essentially the same. Such words are numerous in proportion to the civilization of each tribe, and are few in proportion to its rudeness; until, among the utter savages, excluded by circumstances from all intercourse with the greater tribes, hardly a parallel word is to be discovered.

The first point in an investigation into this curious subject is, to determine the nature and character of the class of words which is common to the more civilized dialects; but words of this nature are so various and extensive, that the selection becomes a matter of difficulty and nicety. If, on the one hand, words of this class be less essential to each language than its own radical stock, they are, on the other, more necessary to it, as the language of an improved community, than the Sanskrit, commonly the medium of introducing words more extrinsic and adventitious. I would say, generally, that the class of words indicating the existence of a great Polynesian language are generally such as indicate the first and necessary great steps in the progress of civilization; arguing thence, that civilization and improvement emanated from the people who spoke it. The following may be enumerated as examples:—the names of useful plants and grains, such as rice,

Indian corn, sugar cane, &c.; words connected with the necessary arts, such as modes of husbandry, weaving, the names of the useful metals, and of domestic animals. The word for *weaving, the shuttle*, the *warp* and the *woof*, are, as far as my information extends, the same in every language of the Archipelago. Iron and gold are generally known by the same terms; but silver and copper, of foreign introduction, are usually known by a Sanskrit name. The domestic animals are commonly known by one general name; while the wild ones of the same race, in those countries where they are indigenous, have a distinct name in each separate dialect.

Words connected with arts so simple and necessary as to imply no invention, but which must at once have occurred to the most untutored savages, will be found distinct in each language. In such arts, the use of the rattan and bamboo, the native and abundant growth of every country of the Archipelago, is perpetually implied, and these plants, therefore, retain their primitive names in every separate language.

One of the most striking examples of the influence of a general Polynesian language in the civilization of the ruder tribes, may be adduced from a collation of the numerals of the different languages. We are not to suppose that even the rudest tribes required to be taught the rudiments of an art which has its origin in the very nature of man

and language, but the extension and improvement of that art may evidently be traced to one source. The numerals of the more improved tribes are, with few exceptions, and making proper allowance for variation of orthography, the same in all. In all, however, relics of an original enumeration may be discovered. In the less improved, these relics are considerable in the lower part of the scale. In a few, the original numerals continue unaltered so far; but in the higher, all agree in in borrowing from the same source—from the great Polynesian. *

Besides the class of words now alluded to, a very considerable number of the most familiar and ordinary words of every language will be found the same throughout the more cultivated languages; such words, for example, as sun, moon, star, sky, stone, earth, fire, water, eye, nose, foot, hand, blood, dead.

The existence of a class of words of this description will hardly be explained by any influence short of domination and conquest, or of great admixture, which implies, in that state of society, nearly the same thing.

As questions of deep and curious interest, it will occur to ask,—what was the nation whose lan-

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* The subject of the numerals will be found discussed more at length in another chapter.

guage produced so strange and extensive an influence,—where its country,—what its state of society,—and what its name and history?

On the evidence of language, we may pronounce as to the state of civilization of such a nation, that they had made some progress in agriculture,—that they understood the use of iron,—had artificers in this metal, and in gold; perhaps made trinkets of the latter,—were clothed with a fabric made of the fibrous bark of plants, which they wove in the loom,—were ignorant of the manufacture of cotton cloth, which was acquired in after times from the continent of India,—had tamed the cow and buffalo, and applied them to draught and carriage,—and the hog, the domestic fowl, and the duck,—and used them for food. Such a nation, in all probability, was in a state of social advancement beyond the ancient Mexicans; for they not only understood the use of iron, and of the larger animals, which the Mexicans did not, but the wide spread of their language across many seas proves that they had made considerable progress in maritime skill, which the Mexicans had not. If they possessed the art of writing, and a national kalendar, the probability of which will be afterwards shown, their superiority was still more decided.

There is no living language of the Archipelago, and still less of any nation, modern or ancient, beyond its limits, which can be denominated the parent stock of the Great Polynesian language. It

was, in all likelihood, a language of the Archipelago itself; of a nation who inhabited a favourable and centrical situation; and who, from these causes, first emerged from the savage state, and were afterwards enabled to disseminate civilization over the rest of the Archipelago in unequal portions, according as the various tribes were qualified, from distance, local situation, fertility or barrenness of territory, and even from fortuitous circumstances, to receive it.

Java, the only country which deserves the name of improved, and the only one which, to our knowledge, ever had an extensive population united as one nation, is that country of the Archipelago to which I am inclined to look as the seat of the ancient nation to which I allude. To the evidence thus derived from probability, we can add a few collateral illustrations from the source of language. In the collation of the languages of the Archipelago, we soon discover a curious variety in the orthography of the same word, carried, indeed, on some occasions, to such an extent, that it requires a knowledge of the principle on which these corruptions came about, and some skill in the application, to trace a word to its proper root.

To ascertain the primitive stock of a word, there are four tests which may be applied: 1st, The manner in which commutable consonants are used: 2d, The manner in which one class of vowels is changed into another: 3d, The use of

abbreviation in the derivative tongue; and, 4th, The figurative use of words in the same, when they can be distinctly traced to a literal one in the primitive language. I shall at present consider the three first tests only, reserving my account of the third for the discussion respecting the influence of the minor and neighbouring languages on each other. Tried by these tests, the language of Java comes the nearest to the pure source of the Great Polynesian language, and thence arises the presumption, that Java was the country of the nation who spoke it.

The most usual examples of commutation of consonants are, *w* into *b*, *d* into *j*, *r* into *d*, *y* into *j*, and *ch* into *s*, or *p*. In the more barbarous languages, we find *l* corrupted into *r*, *p* into *f*, and *b* into *p*. *Watu*, a stone in Javanese, becomes in Malay *batu*. *Warak*, a rhinoceros, in Malay, becomes *badak*, the same word affording two instances of commutation. Corruptions analogous to these are what are made on Sanskrit words introduced into the vernacular languages of India; and it is a striking corroboration of the argument in favour of the antiquity of of the Javanese, that, in other languages, the Malay for example, the very same corruptions are made upon Sanskrit words, while, in Javanese, they are preserved unaltered. It may be worth while giving a few examples: *Wichaksana* in Sanskrit is in Malay *bijaksana*; *wichara* be-

comes *bachara, kulawargah, lahurga; daksina* is *taksina, hangsa, gangsa;* and *randa, janda.* In Javanese, the orthography of these words is preserved with perfect purity, exactly parallel to the manner in which it preserves words of the great Polynesian language.

In derivative languages, not only are the harsh consonants of the primitive language softened, but its broad vowels assume a more slender sound. Such changes are, I believe, constantly effected in the English upon Saxon roots, and they perpetually occur to us in comparing other languages of the Archipelago with the Javanese. I take my examples from the Malay, the only language familiar enough to me to enable me to institute such a comparison. Here we find the short ŭ of our orthography changed into Italian i, long ū into short ŭ, or into i or e, and broad o into short ŭ or ă. Thus *jănnak*, tame, in Javanese, becomes in Malay *jinak; pochot*, to pluck up, *pŭchat;* and *suruh*, betle pepper, *sireh.*

Of the disposition in the derivative language to substitute vowels or soft consonants for consonants of difficult utterance, innumerable examples may be adduced. *Nganteh* in Javanese becomes *ganteh* in Malay, *mlinjis* becomes *blibis*, and *ngăsap* becomes *isap; woh* becomes *buah*, and *ros ruas.* Sometimes to obviate a hiatus a consonant seems to be interposed, and on this principle I account for *wis* in Javanese, supposing it to be the root,

taking the following singular and various shapes. In Malay it is *bras*, in Sunda *bias*, in Bali *bahas*, in Bugis *werasa*, in Macassar *berasa*, in Samang *bayas*, and in Dayak *bahas*. Some of the more eastern languages demand euphonic rules peculiar to themselves. It seems adverse to their genius that any word should end in a consonant, with the exception of the soft nasal *ng*. It seems equally adverse to the genius of their pronunciation that one consonant should coalesce with another. It is in consequence of this that we sometimes see a vowel added or intervened, a terminating consonant rejected or commuted for the favourite nasal; so that we have, on this principle, *bulan*, the moon, converted in Macassar into *bulang*; *kilat*, lightning, in Macassar and Bugis into *kila*; *guntur*, thunder, into *gunturu*; and, with some more violence *bun*, dew, into *apung*. This variety of orthography and pronunciation may be contrasted with the singular uniformity of a word made up of what I may call the favourite sounds of the East-Insular languages, which for the vowels are broad *a*, and Italian *u*, *a*, and *i*, and for the consonants *n*, *k*, *t*, *s*, *p*, *g* and *ng*. In words where these sounds prevail the uniformity is surprising. Maize is for instance called *jagung* unalterably in every language of the Indian islands that I have heard of; a board is with equal uniformity *papan*, the sky *langit*, the earth *tanah*, and the eye *mata*.

If on the philological principles here assumed the Javanese form of words is to be considered as approaching the nearest to the speech of the ancient race whom I have supposed to have disseminated its language and civilization over the other nations and tribes of the Archipelago, to enable us to consider that language consistent with itself, we must look upon it from very early times as a written language; for it is a fact fully understood, that oral utterance and the ear are altogether inadequate to the preservation of the integrity of sounds; a fact nowhere more amply and satisfactorily illustrated than among the languages of the Indian islands, where those that have a written character preserve a surprising consistency, while the more barbarous wanton in the wildest and most fantastic corruptions. Two examples will suffice. In every cultivated, or, which is the same thing, every written language, the moon is invariably *wulan* or *bulan*, but when they cease to be written we have the following variations: in the Lombok, *ulan*; in the Gorongtalo, *ulano*; in the Ceram, *bulante*; in Bima, *wurah*; and in the Menado, thoroughly mangled, *lelehon*. In the greater number of the written languages *wulu* or *bulu* is a hair; in the unwritten we have the following whimsical corruptions: in the Butung, *welua*; in Gorongtalo, *woho*; in Minado, *wuhuk*; in Ceram, *whura*; in Ende, abbreviated as well as corrupted

fil.s. in the language of the Friendly Islands, *furu* or *fulu*; in that of New Zealand, *ruru*; and in that of Madagascar, *volo*.*

As an argument against the antiquity of the Javanese, and of Java being the country of the great Polynesian language, it may be urged, that many words are common to several of the Insular dialects not known in modern Javanese; that in the Sunda, the language of Madura and those of Celebes for example, many words are found, which rather appear to point out the Malay than the Javanese as the more primitive language. Most of the considerable languages of the Archipelago have, as will be pointed out afterwards, produced a considerable influence on each other, but the greater number of the words in question are to be accounted for on a different principle. They are, in fact, words of the great Polynesian language, sometimes become obsolete in one language and sometimes in another, according to the accidents of time and the caprice of manners. For the satisfaction of the critical reader, I shall give a few examples. The following words of ordinary or familiar Malay, are no longer known in modern Javanese, but occur in the languages of several of the surrounding tribes,

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* Hawkesworth's Voyages, Vol. II. Cook's Voyage, Vol. III. Burney's History of Voyages and Discoveries, Vol. II. Madagascar, by Robert Drury, p. 459.

and are certified to have once belonged to the people of Java, by their existence (amidst a crowd of words still current) in the ancient language, as we find it both in manuscripts and on inscriptions: *Sagala*, all; *dan*, and; *diri*, self; *lagi*, yet; *makin*, the more, by so much the more; *bah*, inundation; *tasek*, sea, lake; *tapi*, border; *takut*, fear; *tingi*, high, with many others.

Even in the languages of the distant island of Celebes, we discover words in current use, which, in Java, are found only in books, and are obsolete on common occasions. The fate of some Sanskrit words in the different languages, though proof will be afterwards brought that all words of that tongue were probably introduced through the same channel, will illustrate this in the most convincing manner. In the modern Javanese, there are two Sanskrit words for one in Malay, yet some Sanskrit words are in Malay current and popular, which in Javanese are either confined to books or obsolete, and a few occur in Malay which have no existence at all in modern Javanese, and for the detection of which, we must have recourse to ancient manuscripts and monuments.

The common circumstance of affinity between all the languages, both of the Indian Archipelago and Australasia, is the great Polynesian. I think it will be found, that the languages nearest to Java, in geographical position, or which possessed in any re-

spect the easiest intercourse with it, will, in the ratio of these advantages, be found to contain words of the Polynesian. They are abundant in the Malay and other cultivated tongues of the west, decrease as we go eastward, and most where there is most barbarism, until, in the distant islands of the South Sea, a few stragglers only reach the languages of the more civilized tribes, and even these wanderers do not reach the dialects of such abject savages as those of New Holland.

Such are the only arguments which have occurred to me for ascertaining the locality of the nation which has exerted such an influence over the Indian islands; an influence which may be compared, within its sphere, to that which the Sanskrit and the people who spoke it exerted over the languages and nations of Hindustan. The Sanskrit language exists indeed embodied in writing, while the Polynesian language can be traced only as it is scattered over a thousand living dialects. We know from analogy that a people, of whom Sanskrit was the tongue, must have existed; must have made a certain and considerable progress in civilization, and spread their language and improvements over the continent of India; but it is from these inferences, drawn from analogical reasoning alone, that we form such conclusions, for we possess not even the most trifling record of such a people; we know not when they flourish-

ed; the geographical situation of their country, or their very name. If the arguments I have adduced for ascertaining the situation of the people who spoke and disseminated the great Polynesian language, be of any force, we are in a state of less uncertainty with respect to them than we are in respect to the people of whom Sanskrit was the living speech. We guess at the country they inhabited, and we trace the influence of their language, arts, and institutions among the various tribes of the East Indian isles, now considerable in the degree in which each country is near to it, or more correctly, as it is accessible; and now diminishing as it recedes from it, or is more difficult of access, until it cease altogether, where great distance, or other cause of inaccessibility, have excluded all connection.

The supposition of a great East-Insular language, and, necessarily of a people, of whom it was the medium of communication, is one of the very few facts which seem to carry the history of our species to a great antiquity, particularly if we suppose, that, in common with other great original languages, it was a language of complex structure, a character from which every tongue of the Eastern isles has long ago more completely departed, than the languages of any other portion of the globe.

The superior antiquity and extent of the influ-

ence of the great Polynesian language on the vernacular tongues, over that of the Sanskrit, is proved by the existence of the first, and the absence of the second in the more secluded and insulated languages; such as those of the savages just mentioned, and those of the South Sea islands, in which a few insulated and corrupted words of the great Polynesian exist; but not a syllable of Sanskrit, as far as I know, has been discovered. In investigating a subject of so much obscurity, even such a discovery as this assumes some importance.

The prodigious multiplicity of languages within the Indian islands has been already described, and the decrease of their numbers in the progress of civilization has been pointed out. We have seen nations of a few families with a language separate and distinct from those of its neighbours, while populous communities have no greater number. It is instructive and interesting to advert to the history of the joint improvement of society and language, and to attend to the circumstances under which a community is increased, in strength, number, and civilization, while the numerous dialects of the first savages unite to the formation of one more copious and improved tongue. Such a history would be pretty nearly as follows:—One tribe raised above its neighbours by circumstances natural or fortuitous, would conquer one or more

of these,—adopting, as in savage society, the conquered as captives. The tribe would be increased in numbers and strength to enable it to undertake new conquests. The languages of the conquered and conquerors would amalgamate, the latter chiefly giving it its form and character. Progressive conquests of this nature would, in the course of ages, though after many reverses and fluctuations, reduce a country under the sway of one people, and reduce to one its many dialects. The necessity of supporting an increasing population would be the incentive to industry, invention, and improvement, and, in this manner, we can trace the progress of the savage state to semi-barbarism, until some natural obstacle, as the barrier of seas and mountains, interrupted the geographical progress of improvement. This, in short, is the progress of society in every part of the world; but, as an examination of its consequences will tend to make us better acquainted with the state of society in the Indian islands, I shall illustrate the subject with a few examples:—Nine-tenths of the population of Java speak the same language, and this portion occupies the whole of the low and fertile portion of the island. The mountainous nature of the country occupied by the remaining tenth has hindered them from being subjected, and has kept their language distinct. The conquests and language of the Javanese have penetrated as far as

they could; for the whole accessible part of the coast of the island has been occupied by them, even where it runs parallel with the mountainous districts of the Sundas. The straits which are the boundaries between Java and the islands of Bali and Madura have preserved to the two latter a separate language. In Celebes, the fertile and occupied portion of the island is divided unequally between two nations, the Bugis and Macassars. Nothing but the natural barrier of their mountains could have saved the language and independence of the Macassars. As to the smaller tribes, from the unfavourableness of their situation, sometimes occupying a sterile soil, sometimes inaccessible to each other through forests, rivers, or marshes, and always struggling for existence, no one nation among them has emerged from the savage state to subjugate its neighbours, and take the lead in the march of civilization. They are, consequently, as already described, divided into numerous petty tribes, each speaking a distinct language.

It is by conquest only that we can suppose the languages of rude nations to produce a material influence upon each other, and the notion of partial and occasional subjugation is not excluded by such circumstances, as ultimately prove obstacles to the union of two or more tribes, to the formation of one nation and one language. An oscillation of partial and temporary conquests is constantly going forward,

which produces important effects upon the language of the weaker party, though the unskilfulness and weakness which belong to this condition of society, incapacitate the parties from making permanent conquests under circumstances of any difficulty. In this manner we account rationally for the great number of words common to all the neighbouring languages. It is the language of the more powerful and civilized tribe, which naturally imposes words upon the weaker. Sometimes this communication is direct, but at others, no doubt, it is received intermediately; a principle on which it is, often, more reasonable and consistent to explain the wide-spread connection which we perceive, than by supposing enterprises and adventures of difficulty, incompatible with the genius of barbarians. We have, however, positive and unquestionable evidence to assure us, that, from the more considerable nations of the Archipelago, expeditions, of no inconsiderable extent, have been at times undertaken, both for settlement and conquest. The Javanese have had their expeditions to Borneo, to Sumatra, and the Peninsula; the Malays to the Malayan Peninsula and to Borneo; and the Bugis to Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Peninsula,—though the influence of the latter, or that of their language, towards the west, has been inconsiderable. The extraordinary facility of maritime enterprise, in the tranquil safe navigation of the Indian islands, and the difficulties so frequent-

ly interposed to communication by land, caused by deep forests, impenetrable morasses, or inaccessible mountains, ought to be steadily kept in remembrance in a discussion of this nature. The inhabitants of the Archipelago are, in short, a people naturally of maritime habits, and we expect that their movements shall be directed by this principle. They have not the means of emigrating by land. They have not, like the Tartars, extensive grassy plains to march over with facility, and extensive flocks or herds to feed them in their wanderings.

To afford illustrations of the nature of the influence now referred to, I shall endeavour, in a few short sentences, to trace the influence of the Javanese language upon some of the neighbouring tongues; looking in this view upon Java less as the country of the people who disseminated the language which, in imitation of Mr Marsden, I have called the Great Polynesian, than as the source of a more modern and less essential influence.

The Javanese seem to have made repeated temporary conquests of the Sundas, and one of these is matter of such recent history, that Europeans themselves were witnesses to it. Nearly the same words apply to the conquests made of Madura. Of those of Bali we have no accurate record, but the traditions of both nations are full of them. The effect of these conquests has been every thing short of imposing a new language, or of amalgamating the

inferior with the superior languages. The Sunda, Madura, and Bali, abound not only with words of pure Javanese beyond any other languages of the Archipelago, but they have adopted the most ex-trinsic, artificial, and superfluous portion of the Javanese; the *dialect* of *deference* and respect, almost, word for word, as it exists in that language.

The influence of the Javanese upon the Malay has been less considerable, but great. Of the portion which is common to the Malay and Javanese, it would be no easy or possible matter to define which was received into the Malay from the great Polynesian language, and which through the more modern vernacular language. The more radical and necessary may generally be considered as having come from the great East-Insular tongue; the more incidental and extrinsic from the vernacular language of Java. Sometimes words received from the latter source refer to some peculiar or local usage of modern Java, when they may be easily identified; at other times, the words are no better than the affectations of the learned, and may even be recognized by a foreign pronunciation. An additional influence on the part of the Javanese on the Malay, seems to have been exerted on the dialects of some of the Malayan states, after their emigration from the parent state on Sumatra. In the Patani dialect of Malay, I find, for example, many words of Javanese in familiar use, but which are unknown to any

of the rest of the tribes. The following are examples: *lawas*, old, of long standing; *hulun*, I; *mu*, thou; *kulon*, west; *wetan*, east; *lor*, north; *kidul*, south; *muning*, angry; *dùlik*, to hide; *mamah*, to masticate; *bangun*, to mend; *tiba*, 1. to fall, 2. to arrive; *jupuk*, to take; *suwek*, to tear. Javanese tradition, in fact, of no very remote antiquity, describes the existence of a connection of a very intimate nature between Java and the state of Patani, on the eastern shore of the Malayan peninsula.

The greater number of words common to the Malay and Javanese languages are, however, of a more radical and permanent character than those just referred to; and whether they be of the great Polynesian language, or modern Javanese, seems of less consequence than to determine that the language of Java, under whatever name, and not the Malay, is the primitive tongue. In words common to both languages, it often happens, that the figurative sense of a word only is recognized in Malay; at other times, the Malay word is a derivative from some Javanese root; and, occasionally, the Malay word, which appears, at first view, a simple word, is a compounded one in Javanese, the component parts of which have no existence in the former language. A few examples of each will, I think, satisfy the reader of the originality of the Javanese. The literal sense of the word

nyidam, in Javanese, is fructification, or the act of forming fruit; and its figurative, conception or pregnancy. Its figurative sense only is known in Malay, in the corruption of the word, *idam*. *Lanchang* means literally, in Javanese, to run a-head, to run before another; and, figuratively, to anticipate. In the latter sense only we have it in Malay. *Mujur* and *malang*, in Javanese, in their literal significations, imply, the one lengthwise, and the other athwart; and figuratively, fortunate, and unlucky. In the latter sense only are they used in Malay. *Suku*, a quarter or fourth part, in both languages, is derived from *suku*, the leg, in Javanese, which, as well as *bahu*, a shoulder, are metaphorically used to express that fraction. *Sunggut*, to hint, or insinuate, is a metaphorical use of the same word, meaning the feelers or antennæ of fish or insects. In the literal sense it is not known in Malay. The word *dămăn*, a fever, corrupted in Malay *damam*, is derived from the Javanese word *adam*, cold, which has no existence in Malay. To understand this etymology, it is necessary to explain, that it is not the hot stage of fever, as with us, and the people of India, but the cold, which gives name to a fever. In Javanese, the word *buruh* means to labour; and *buruhan*, a derivative, *wages*. The derivative only is known in Malay. *Pagawe*, a tool, an instrument, in both languages is derived from a Javanese root *gawe* to do, to work. *Kaba-*

Bachikan, goodness, in Malay and Javanese, is derived from the Javanese adjective *bachik*, good. *Penjurit*, a leader, in Malay, is a corruption of *Prajurit*, a soldier, or warrior, in Javanese, itself a derivative from *jurit*, war, in Javanese—*Bachik* and *jurit*, the roots, in these two examples, are words not known in the Malay at all. *Pararara*, corrupted in Malay *părwara*, waiting women, or rather a sort of *maids of honour*, is, as far as the Malay is concerned, a primitive word, but in Javanese, is resolvable into its component parts, *para*, *all*, used collectively, and *rara*, a maid. *Gandarusa*, in both languages, is the name of a medicinal plant, a simple term in Malay, but in Javanese referable at once to its component parts, *ganda*, odour, and *rusa*, strong, an epithet which describes its most sensible quality. The particles of each language, as stated in another place, will generally be found original; but an example or two may be produced of the less familiar ones being derived from the Javanese. The particle *maka*, *now*, *then*, for example, is evidently a derivation from *mangka*, time, in Javanese; and the copulative, *dan*, is a corruption of the Javanese *lan*, itself an abbreviation of *lawan* and *kalawan*, the root of which is the numeral *kaleh*, two.

The influence of the Javanese upon the Malay may be traced after the period when the former received its portion of Sanskrit; for words exist in Malay, consisting jointly of a Javanese and Sanskrit root. *Gandapura*, for example, is the name

of a plant, from the flower of which a perfumed essence, in high repute, is drawn. It is composed of the Javanese word *ganda*, odour, and the Sanskrit one, *pura*, a palace. *Rontal*, in Javanese, the leaf of the Palmyra palm, used to write upon, is, in Malay, by a very common corruption, *lontar*. The genuine word is composed of *ron*, a leaf, and *tal*, in Sanskrit, the Palmyra palm. It is singular that the word *ron* had, in its simple uncompounded state, been already corrupted into *daun*, on a principle already explained, it being apparently a word of the great Polynesian language. Had the compound word been formed by the Malays, we should have found it, not *lontar*, but *dauntal*. This subject will be renewed when I speak of the introduction of Sanskrit.

In a superior fertility of soil, and conveniency of situation, there seems to exist in Java a permanent and effectual cause for ascribing to its inhabitants a higher civilization than could naturally have been the growth of any other part of the Archipelago, and to infer necessarily from thence, that the languages of the people of Java, of all ages, must, in their times, have exerted the greatest influence on those of the other tribes; but this by no means excludes a minor influence on the part of the other tribes, and each greater one may be proved to have exerted a powerful influence on the languages of its immediate neighbours. The Mahomedan religion was first introduced among the Malays, who

became, in their turn, the chief instruments in propagating it throughout the rest of the Archipelago. Commerce and religion went together; and the Malays of these times were not only the apostles of Islam, but the chief merchants of the Archipelago. From this double source, a considerable influx of Malay words has taken place into the languages of all the Mahomedan and commercial nations of the Archipelago. They are, indeed, mostly, words relating to religion or commerce, and hence are readily detected. In Javanese, for example, we have the Malay word *malăm*, night, used in the restricted sense of *evening*, counting time according to the Mahomedan style. *Golok* a cleaver, or small hanger, in Malay, is applied in Javanese to the description of side-arms worn by the priests. *Tătak* in Malay means to cut or lop off any thing; in Javanese it is *to circumcise*.

The Bugis and Macassar languages afford many examples. They preserve the primitive words, for instance, for the cardinal points of the compass, but, in commercial language, often apply the Malay ones. The influence of the Malay, in this respect, though infinitely smaller, may, in its principle, be compared to that which the Persian has exerted on some of the vernacular languages of continental India.

We are accustomed to look upon the Hindoos as a people whose religion admits no proselytes, and who are interdicted from emigration by its sacred

and inviolable precepts. Singular as is the frame of society among the Hindus, there can be no doubt but those who have impressed the public with these opinions have rather consulted the assertions of the Bramins than the principles of human nature and the analogy of history. Such opinions will not bear the slightest examination. Hindustan itself contains ten different nations, all professing the Hindu religion; and the many ages before such a revolution could have been completed, implies most extensive conversion and proselytism. Actual emigration, among Hindus, is proved by the existence of Hindu colonies on the shores of the Caspian, and by the abundant and unquestionable relics of Hindu manners,* language, and religion in almost every country of Eastern Asia. This, indeed, is a point now too firmly established to demand any additional evidence. Having premised these necessary observations, we shall be the better enabled to understand and explain the fact, still sufficiently curious and interesting, of the existence of Sanskrit in all the improved languages of the Archipelago. There are *five* circumstances respecting the existence of Sanskrit in the dialects of the Archipelago which may be looked upon as established, and from an attention to which we shall be enabled

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* A small Hindu colony exists at present at Malacca, and has existed there for ages. The original settlers were from Telinga.

to form some rational opinions respecting the nature, character, and extent of the connection between the distant Indian isles and the country of the Hindus. First, The Sanskrit exists in a state of as great purity as the articulation and alphabets of the Archipelago would admit, nearly unmixed with any modern dialect of which it is a part, and apparently in a state of original purity. Secondly, It is most pure in the more cultivated dialects. Thirdly, It is abundant in the direct proportion of the improvement of each language. Fourthly, It is pure and abundant as each dialect of the same tongue is improved, and rare and corrupt as the language is common and popular. Fifthly, Where corruptions of Sanskrit words exist, the same corruption pervades all the different dialects. It is only from a sober examination of the internal evidence which these prominent facts afford, assisted by the evidence which the relics of ancient art and religion lend us, that we can expect to determine the manner in which the Polynesian dialects received their infusion of Sanskrit; for we cannot trust to tradition, and the barbarians, on both sides of the water, have no historical record of this or any other remote transaction.

The singular facts now stated respecting the condition in which Sanskrit exists in the languages of the Indian islands, lead me to imagine that the language was not introduced by conquest, but pro-

pagated by the slow and gradual means of religious conversion, effected, just as in later times, the Arabic, by the Mahomedans, through the activity and intrigues of a few dexterous priests. The Sanskrit, it may be said, forms a more essential, necessary, and copious portion of the Insular languages than the Arabic; but this may be explained. The defects of the Insular languages had been supplied through the Sanskrit before they knew the Arabic, and since then the advancement of society in the Indian isles has not been such as to render an influx of new words necessary, even could the Arabic have supplied what the Sanskrit did not afford. The most puzzling circumstance, at first view, is the fact of the Sanskrit language not being mixed in the dialects of the Indian islands with any living dialect of India; but this apparent difficulty tends, on a nearer inspection, to clear up the history of its introduction. Had any living tongue been introduced with it, we should have no doubt but the language had been introduced through conquest and subjugation, or commercial intercourse. The conquerors and the conquered mixing, would undoubtedly have mixed their languages, and we should see not only the peculiar corruptions of the Indian dialect, but, superinduced on these, the imperfection of oral communication. Even supposing the conquerors of the Indian islands to have been the very nation who spoke the Sanskrit language,

a supposition perhaps too violent, as it would carry us to a period of antiquity in Indian history on which even tradition is silent, the Sanskrit language must, through the popular and oral communication which must have ensued, have undergone corruptions similar to those which it has undergone in all the vernacular tongues of India, and which, indeed, all languages must undergo when similarly situated among a barbarous people, unless when infused through the medium of letters, or, which in such a state of society is the same thing, through the priesthood. The class of words which has been admitted is not such as by any means to warrant us in the belief that a popular intercourse existed between the two people. The affinity between the two languages is, indeed, far from being radical, for the terms borrowed by the East-Insular languages are generally abstract words, rendered necessary to the people who adopted them in the course of improvement, and deliberately selected for the purpose, just as *we* apply ourselves to the ancient languages of Europe for technical terms. In some of the less improved languages they are seldom more than terms connected with the peculiar mythology of the Hindus. The class of words most liable to be introduced when two nations are mixed, is necessarily that of most familiar and constant application in the ordinary intercourse of life. It is so far the reverse of this with the Insu-

lar dialects, that wherever Sanskrit words most abound, the language will be found to be the most artificial and refined. The polite dialect of Java, or language of respect, which is strictly a factitious speech, uses the Sanskrit liberally. The ordinary written language does the same, and the Kami or recondite language of the priesthood wantons in Sanskrit words nearly in a state of primitive purity. In some instances it is impossible to account for the caprice of language, for Sanskrit words extend even to the objects of sense. In Malay we have *kapala* for the head, in Javanese *sira* for the same object. In Bugis and Macassar, as well as in Malay and Javanese, we have *rupa* for the face, and all belonging to the most common dialect, being, indeed, the only words for these objects in all but the Javanese. Words of this nature are, however, extremely few in number, and are here adduced as exceptions to a general rule. Let us suppose the case of a few Hindu missionaries arriving among the Indian islanders for the purpose of converting them. It would surely, in that case, be a hopeless task to attempt to teach the rude natives *their* language; prudence would at once dictate to them the necessity of acquiring the dialect of the country, and their own tongue would not once be referred to. When religious instruction was to be given, the Sanskrit, the language consecrated to religion among all Hindus, would be had

recourse to. This would be stripped of its inflections, and mixed with the rude language of the people, and thus would be formed such a language as the Kawi, or abstruse language of Java and Bali. From this language Sanskrit words would be diffused, in the progress of civilization and improvement, over the common speech of the people, losing a greater or less share of their purity as they were more or less trusted to oral utterance, or were adopted by tribes more or less improved.

The historical fact seems to have been, that, in the course of the commercial intercourse by which the precious products of the Eastern islands have been conveyed during all ages to India, Hindu missionaries came at various times into the Eastern islands, chiefly from Telinga, and that through them the Hindu religion and the Sanskrit language were widely spread over the Archipelago; but I shall not at present enlarge on this subject, as it will be more fully considered in treating of the history and antiquities of the islands.

I have attempted to argue that Java was the seat from whence originated the early civilization of the Indian Archipelago; and I imagine there is some ground for believing, that, through the channel of the Javanese, the other Polynesian languages received, perhaps, the principal portion of their Sanskrit. Making every allowance for the similarity in sound and sense which must result

from the operation of those more general causes which tend to assimilate to such a degree, in some of their grander features, all the Insular languages, there still exist coincidences and points of resemblance of so arbitrary a nature, that they could only have had their source in the modifications produced by one tongue, whatever tongue that was.

Before attempting to bring this directly home to the Javanese, I shall produce a few examples of the similarity to which I allude. *Sakti* in Sanskrit means power; in the Polynesian languages it means *only* supernatural power. Putra in Sanskrit means a son; in Malay it is son of a king or prince. We shall afterwards see how it is in Javanese. Laksa, one hundred thousand, is in *all* the languages of the Archipelago only ten thousand. As to similarity in corrupted orthography, this is less to be wondered at; but, even here, we meet such examples of arbitrary pronunciation and spelling, that it is difficult not to ascribe their origin to one common source of error. We have, for example, *garu*, lignum aloes, instead of *agur*; *nagasari*, the name of a plant, instead of *nagakesar*; *kuda*, a horse, in place of *ghora*; *batara*, an avâtar, instead of *awatara*. If we are to consider the Sanskrit words in the Polynesian languages as coming from one source, we must imagine that a class of words, the very existence of which implies *some* civilization and improvement, were derived

from the most improved race, from the language in which the Sanskrit exists in the greatest purity and greatest abundance, and not from a ruder tribe or more meagre language, in which it exists but thinly scattered. This strong presumptive evidence is very satisfactory; but more positive and conclusive testimony may be drawn from an actual examination of the languages. I have already produced examples of compound words in Malay, in which the Javanese and Sanskrit are united as component parts. *Putro*, a son, and *putri*, a daughter, in Sanskrit, mean strictly the same thing in Javanese, but belong exclusively to the language of respect, from whence they have been transferred to the Malay, where they are used in the limited sense of prince and princess, or son and daughter of a king. The word *puja*, prayer, in Sanskrit, becomes in the polite dialect of Java *puji*, which corruption of the word is the only form in which it appears in Malay. *Nagara* is a city in Sanskrit; in the ordinary language of Java the word is preserved without alteration; but in the language of deference it becomes *nagari*; and this corrupt form, derived from the peculiar genius of the Javanese, is admitted into the Malay where the word has no other.

In discussing the subject of a great Polynesian language, I have attempted to show, that many evidences exist of a considerable degree of local and

indigenous civilization in the Indian Archipelago, wholly independent of foreign instruction; that the principal tribes understood the culture of grain; the use of iron, tin, and gold; of the larger animals; that they had a national kalendar, and probably understood the art of writing. If we consider how small their progress has since been, beyond what is implied by this statement, we shall not think very highly of the extent and value of the improvements which the islanders received from the Hindus; and the catalogue of them will not be difficult to sum up. The Hindus may have instructed the islanders in the knowledge of copper and silver; perhaps taught them to tame the horse and elephant, which are commonly known by Sanskrit names; instructed them in the use of cotton and of the fabric manufactured from it; in that of pepper, and the manufacture of a drug from the indigo plant, and in the culture of some Indian fruits. Finally, the Hindus taught the East-Insular tribes a new kalendar, which became supplemental to their own without superseding it; they modified their writing, gave them a new literature and a new religion, fortunately unaccompanied by the unsocial and revolting genius of genuine Hinduism.

The introduction of a portion of *Arabic* has, as in other situations, been, among the tribes of the Indian islands, the consequence of the adoption of the Mahomedan religion. Into the distant regions

of the Archipelago the Alkoran was not introduced by the sword, and in the days of Arabian conquest and enthusiasm, but at a comparatively late period, and by a few straggling merchants. In the proudest days of Arabian empire, the maritime unskilfulness of the Arabs must have been unequal to so distant an enterprise as the conquest and conversion of the Indian islands.

The exact period of the earliest conversion is not very well defined, but may be generally stated at about five hundred years back. The Malays were the first converts, and were followed by the Javanese at a long interval of a century and a half, and by the nations of Celebes at one of two centuries. Of all the tribes of the Indian islands, the Malays are the most thorough converts to Mahomedanism, and they enjoy, among their less zealous neighbours, the reputation of being good Mahomedans. They are the only considerable nation of the Archipelago * who have followed the example of the great Mahomedan nations of western Asia, in adopting the Arabic character. This circumstance gives a facility to the introduction of Arabic in the written language, and, added to their superior zeal and longer conversion, is the cause why much more Arabic is found in the Malay, than

* The Bantamese and Achinese, and people of Mindanao, do so also, but they are inconsiderable tribes.

in any other language of the Archipelago. Still, however, the harshness and variety of the Arabic consonants are so hostile to the few soft and simple sounds of the Insular languages, that the number of words naturalized in the Malay is very insignificant, and even some of these are softened down to the standard of Polynesian pronunciation. Marsden, as stated in another place, with accuracy considers the number of Arabic words adopted into the Malayan, not to exceed twenty or thirty; but, by a sanctioned pedantry, a writer introduces words, or whole sentences, at pleasure, as is practised in all languages of which Arabic is the sacred text. In languages, not written in the Arabic character, such a practice is generally excluded, but these, too, are not without expedients. When treating of religious topics, the Javanese priests write their native tongue in a modified Arabic character, and the nations of Celebes follow a more awkward plan, often intermixing the Arabic and native character in the same manuscript. Notwithstanding these contrivances, words are often so disguised, particularly in oral language, that it is only through the awkwardness of sound that we are led to suspect them to be aliens. The Arabic word *mufăkăt* is made, for example, *pakat* in Malay; and *fĕkir*, in the pronunciation of the Archipelago, is *piker*; *sahabat* is *sabat*. The changes in the Javanese are the most violent of all, sometimes leaving hardly a feature of resemblance with the original. *Sabab*

becomes in Javanese *sawab*; *sahabat*, *skabat*, and *naſkah*, *kalakah*, whether in writing or speaking.

The other oriental languages, which, besides the Sanskrit and Arabic, enter into the composition of the more improved Polynesian dialects, are Telinga, Persian, and a few words of Chinese. The *Telinga* has been introduced chiefly through the medium of commerce, in the course of the traffic which is still carried on, and seems to have existed in very remote times, between the Indian islands and the kingdom of *Kalinga*, the only name for the whole continent known to the Insular languages. A few words, I have no doubt, have also been admitted in the progress of the conversion of the Indian tribes, and some in making translations from the vernacular language of the Telingas. Words of Telinga are most frequent in Malay, the *lingua franca* of commerce; and it may, indeed, be considered as singular, that they exist in no greater number. But the case with the Telingas is nearly parallel to that of the early propagators of Hinduism. They are not numerous enough for conquerors, and have, consequently, not ingrafted their tongue upon the vernacular languages. Still they consider themselves superior to the natives of the country, and affect to play the part of instructors in religious matters; but, in this case, it is the Arabic, and not their own language, which is called for. This affords a striking illustration of the history and manner of the introduction of Sanskrit

The number of Telinga words in Javanese is very trifling; and even in Malay but inconsiderable. In the latter, the words are commercial terms, and a few words familiar to their written compositions, but not adopted in colloquial speech. Some of the latter are corrupt forms of Sanskrit, easily recognised by their peculiarity of termination. In Javanese we have no words of this class. Here no word is found with any other corruption than what may be traced to imperfect orthography or pronunciation.

In the Malay only, we discover, probably, about a hundred words of *Persian*, which crept into the language, during the busy commercial intercourse which existed between the Indian isles and the Mahomedan states of India, after the conversion of the islanders to Mahomedanism. Some have made their way through translations, and, perhaps, a few by a direct intercourse with the Persians of *the gulf*

Of the oral languages of *China*, a very trifling portion, indeed, has been infused into the Polynesian tongues, notwithstanding the long and intimate intercourse which has existed between the people, and the number of Chinese settlers within the Archipelago. The languages have been hindered from mixing, by difference of religion and manners on the part of the people, and of genius in that of their languages,—the one uncouth and monotonous, the other smooth and harmonious.

Among European languages, the *Portuguese* alone has exerted any considerable influence on the Polynesian languages, and this is nearly confined to the Malay. The character of the Portuguese intercourse with India, was, from the beginning, widely different from that of other European nations. They were professed conquerors, and subjugated and colonized to the extent of their ability. They came into direct contact with the natives of the country, and caused the effect of their religious and civil institutions to be practically felt. The government of other European nations has been a government of opinion and management, effected through the instrumentality of the natives of the country, in the course of which, the object seems rather to have been to avoid a familiarity of intercourse, than to court it. The difference is discovered in the effect produced upon language, and has been forwarded by the congenial softness of a southern dialect, opposed to the roughness of our guttural northern tongues. The Dutch, in particular, is so dissonant and so repugnant in sound to the smoothness of the Insular languages, that few words of it can be articulated at all; and even the easiest are so metamorphosed, that it will defy conjecture to guess at them. Who, for example, can recognise in the Javanese word ratpăni, the Dutch words Raad van Indie, the famous "Council of the Indies?"

CHAPTER VI.

VOCABULARIES.

Account of the series of Vocabularies contained in this Work.—Errors in many former Collections.—Examples.—Vocabulary of the Languages of the Archipelago.

To render the subject of the preceding chapters more intelligible, and to afford the professed scholar an opportunity of judging for himself, as well as of the accuracy of the opinions which the writer has advanced in the course of this book, a series of vocabularies are appended. These are of various authenticity, according to the circumstances under which they were collected. Those of the Javanese, Malay, Bugis, Macassar, Madurese, Balinese, Sunda, and Biajuk Dayak, were compiled by myself, personally, under such advantages, that I think they may be entirely relied upon. Of the rest, many have also been compiled under more favourable auspices than usual; but it must be acknowledged, that, in general, there exist innumerable sources of error in any attempts to compile vocabularies of languages with which we are unacquainted,—from our own ignorance and unskilfulness,—from the carelessness,—incapacity, and apathy of the natives,—

and from the incompatibility of the idioms of the European and Indian languages. Ordinary voyagers are seldom or never to be trusted, and endless examples of the ridiculous blunders committed by them might be adduced. For the reader's satisfaction and amusement, I shall quote a few examples from our own old voyagers and travellers. The first specimen of the language of Java with which we meet is in the voyage of Sir Francis Drake. It is called "Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Java, learned and observed by our men there." It turns out to be not Javanese, but a mixture of that language with Sunda and Malay. The very first word affords a striking example of the progress of error in matters of this nature. For silk, we have the word *sabuck*, which means a sash. The origin of this blunder is obvious. The sashes worn by the Javanese are usually of silk. The inquirer, wishing for the native name of silk, pointed to a silken sash, and received the name of the individual for that of the class. The word *doduck*, which ought to have been written *dodot*, is an instance of the same kind. It is interpreted "blue cloth," but means properly the portion of dress with which the loins of the natives are usually girded, and which is frequently of a blue colour.* In Ogilbie's Asia we have "a brief vocabulary of the Malayan tongue," I know not where obtained,

* Drake's voyage in Hakluyt's Voyages, Navigations, &c. Reprint, Vol. IV. p. 246.

which abounds in the most extravagant errors of all. Here are found such ludicrous interpretations as the following: *senderi*, (self) "all one;" *nante*, (wait) "both;" *barmyn*, (to sport) "foolish;" *kyaey agum*, (*agăng*) (a saint or sage,) "a civil man;" *macanan minum*, (meat and drink) "a wedding;" *kekeer*, (a file, figuratively a miser) "bounteous;" *Ibou*, (mother) "a grandfather," and *anack*, (child, young, progeny) "a calf."* Sir Thomas Herbert's collection of Malay words is less extravagantly absurd than Ogilbie's, but still abounds in very ludicrous errors. He has *cambi*, (*kambing*, a goat) as the word for ox, and for a goat *carbow*, (*kărbao*,) which is a buffalo. Some of his translations put to defiance all attempt to trace them, as, for example, "Is he not here?" *beef*; "well done," *sarsa*; "let pass," *ganga*; "near hand," *gila*. †

* Asia, by John Ogilbie, Esq. his Majesty's Cosmographer, &c. p 129.

† Some years' travels into divers parts of Africa and Asia the Great, by Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart. p. 366.—Some more recent voyagers are as little to be relied on. Forrest, who had a vulgar knowledge of Malay, interprets *karang-asem*, the name of the principal state of the island of Bali, "the country of the *rough rock*," knowing that *karang* commonly meant a *rock*, and *asam*, *sour*, which he thought, when in search of an etymology, he might alter into *rough*. But *karang* means also an orchard or grove, and the primitive signification of *asam* is the tamarind tree, so that the compound is literally and strictly "the tamarind grove."

Making every allowance for errors of transcription, the orthography is so wantonly vague and false in all these compilations, that it is not very easy to conceive how the ears of our predecessors could have been so deceived as to record them.

In the following vocabulary the whole of the languages are exhibited at one view under each word, and follow each other in their natural classes. The *first* class comprehends the two great languages of the western portion of the Archipelago which have exerted the most extensive influence upon those of their neighbours. The *second* comprehends the languages of the tribes of the second order in the same portion of the Archipelago, and the *third* a specimen of the languages of the savages of lank hair and brown complexion of the same quarter. The *fourth* contains the *great* languages of the eastern portion of the Archipelago, the Bugis and Macassar; the *fifth* class the secondary languages of the same quarter; the *sixth* a specimen of the languages of the South Sea islands; and the *seventh* of the languages of the Papuan, or woolly-haired races.

Before concluding these preliminary remarks, it will be necessary that I explain the nature of the sources from which I have drawn such parts of this comparative series of vocabularies as I am not myself pledged for the accuracy of. The most copious and perfect, that of the Lampungs, is extract-

ed from the work of Sir Stamford Raffles, and its correctness may be trusted. The specimen of the languages of the South Sea islands is that of the Atui, taken from the third volume of Cook's voyages. It is, like all others from the same and similar sources, scanty and unsatisfactory. The selection of words in the original is extremely injudicious, and many examples bear internal evidence of error and ignorance. The specimen of the language of Timur, the most prevalent of the many dialects of the island, and of that of Rotti, were collected by Lieutenant Owen Phillips, a gentleman well versed in the Malayan language, and their chief defect is their brevity. The specimen of the language of the Samang, or woolly-haired race of the mountains of the Malayan peninsula, was collected for me by the minister of the prince of Queda, a man of very superior mind, and corrected by my friend Major Macinnes, after Mr Marsden, among Europeans, perhaps the best Malayan scholar existing. The examples of the Madagascar are from the well-known narrative of Robert Drury, who lived fifteen years among the natives. It carries with it internal evidence of authenticity, and the errors into which the writer has fallen are those only incident to an untutored and unlettered mind, errors in orthography and of unskilfulness in selection.

VOCABULARIES.

The letters o, c, and a, within brackets in the following Vocabulary, express respectively—ordinary,—ceremonial —and ancient. The numerals point out the arrangement of the languages into classes.

	English	sky
1.	Javanese (o.)	langit
	Javanese (c.)	ngawiyat
	Javanese (a.)	hakoso
	———	jumantoro
	———	gagono
	Malay	langit
2.	Bali (o.)	langit
	Bali (c.)	angkasa
	Madura (o.)	langih
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	langit
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	langit
3.	Biajuk	langit
4.	Bugis	langih
	Macassar	langih
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	hairani
7.	Sămang	kaet
	Madagascar	longitchs

	English	star
1.	Javanese (o.)	lintang
	Javanese (c.)	lintang
	Javanese (a.)	tranggono
	———	sutoro
	———	
	Malay	bintang
2.	Bali (o.)	bintang
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	bintang
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (c.)	bentang
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	bintang
3.	Biajuk	bintang
4.	Bugis	bintoeng
	Macassar	bintoeng
5.	Timuri	fetoen
	Rotti	du
6.	Atui	eintu
7.	Sămang	binting
	Madagascar	vetsir

English	*moon*
1. Javanese (o.)	wulan rămbulan
Javanese (c.)	sasi
Javanese (a.)	chondro
———	sitangsu
———	sosodoro rati,
Malay	bulan
2. Bali (o.)	bulan
Bali (c.)	sasi
Madura (o.)	bulan
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	bulan
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bulan
3. Biajuk	bulan
4. Bugis	ketang
Macassar	bulang
5. Timuri	fulan
Rotti	bulak
6. Atui	marama
7. Sămang	kachik
Madagascar	voler

English	*sun*
1. Javanese (o.)	srang-nge-nge
Javanese (c.)	suryo
Javanese (a.)	bàskoro, rawi
———	prabonggo
———	prabonggopati
Malay	matahari
2. Bali (o.)	matanahi
Bali (c.)	surya
Madura (o.)	are
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	panan-poe
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	matagani
3. Biajuk	matandao
4. Bugis	mataso
Macassar	matalo
5. Timuri	laroh
Rotti	lacloh
6. Atui	hai, raa
7. Sămang	mitkatok
Madagascar	andro

English	*rainbow*
1. Javanese (o.)	kuwung
Javanese (c.)	tejo
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	ular-danu
2. Bali (o.)	byang-lalah
Bali (c.)	kuwung-kuwung
Madura (o.)	andang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	katombiri
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	goneh
3. Biajuk	liyu
4. Bugis	tara-uwe
Macassar	tara-uwe
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	avvar

English	*east*
1. Javanese (o.)	wetan timur
Javanese (c.)	purwo
Javanese (a.)	purwo
———	
———	
Malay	timur
2. Bali (o.)	kangin
Bali (c.)	wetan
Madura (o.)	temor
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	wetan timur
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	timor
4. Bugis	alao, timura
Macassar	iraia, timura
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	tinogher

	English	*west*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kulon
	Javanese (c.)	kilen
	Javanese (a.)	panchim
	———	
	———	
	Malay	barat
2.	Bali (o.)	kau
	Bali (c.)	kulon
	Madura (o.)	barah
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kulon, barat
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	barat
4.	Bugis	urai, barata
	Macassar	ilao, barata
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*north*
1.	Javanese (o.)	lor
	Javanese (c.)	ler
	Javanese (a.)	utoro
	———	
	———	
	Malay	utara
2.	Bali (o.)	bădaja
	Bali (c.)	kaler
	Madura (o.)	daja
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kaler, utara
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	otra
4.	Bugis	manorang
	Macassar	wara, utara
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*south*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kidul
	Javanese (c.)	kidul
	Javanese (a.)	daksino
	———	
	———	
	Malay	sălatan
2.	Bali (o.)	kălod
	Bali (c.)	kidul
	Madura (o.)	lahoh
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kidul
	Sunda (c.)	'părnangin
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	salatan
4.	Bugis	maniyang
	Macassar	timurao
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	atimo

	English	*earth*
1.	Javanese (o.)	lăsah, bumi
	Javanese (c.)	siti
	Javanese (a.)	pratolo bumi
	———	pratiwi kesmo
	———	buntolo
	Malay	tanah
2.	Bali (o.)	tanah
	Bali (c.)	gumi
	Madura (o.)	tana, bumi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	taneu, tana
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	bumi
3.	Biajuk	petak
4.	Bugis	linoe
	Macassaar	lino
5.	Timuri	rahi
	Rotti	dahai
6.	Atui	motu
7	Sămaag	tek
	Madagascar	tonna

English	*earthquake*
1. Javanese (o.)	lindu
Javanese (c.)	lindu
Javanese (a.)	menggut
———	
———	
Malay	gămpa
2. Bali (o.)	lino
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	gandăg
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	lini
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kukok
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	rongrong
Macassar	rongrong
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*land (dry)*
1. Javanese (o.)	darat
Javanese (c.)	daratan
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	darat
2. Bali (o.)	darat
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	darat
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	darat
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	dara
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	dara
Macassar	bonto
5. Timuri	maran
Rotti	lau
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*island*
1. Javanese (o.)	pulo
Javanese (c.)	nusa
Javanese (a.)	nuswa
———	gili
———	
Malay	pulaŏ
2. Bali (o.)	pulo
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	polo gili
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	nusa
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pulao
3. Biajuk	pulao
4. Bugis	liwukang
Macassar	liwukang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	motu
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	nosa

English	*mountain*
1. Javanese (o.)	gunung
Javanese (c.)	wukir hardi
Javanese (a.)	prawoto akolo
———	haldoko
———	giri
Malay	gunung, bukit
2. Bali (o.)	bukit
Bali (c.)	gunung
Madura (o.)	gunung
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	gunung
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	rugok
3. Biajuk	bukit
4. Bugis	mongchong
Macassar	mongchong
5. Timuri	tanuik
Rotti	lakti
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	tabing, chubuk
Madagascar	vohitcht

	English	*plain*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tăgal horohoro
	Javanese (c.)	tăgil
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	padang
2.	Bali (o.)	tăgal
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tagal
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	tăgal
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	landosi
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	padang-gue
	Macassar	parang
5.	Timuri	tachan
	Rotti	mo
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*stone*
1.	Javanese (o.)	watu
	Javanese (c.)	selo
	Javanese (a.)	selo
	———	parang
	———	
	Malay	batu
2.	Bali (o.)	batu
	Bali (c.)	watu
	Madura (o.)	bato
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	batu
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	batue
3.	Biajuk	batro
4.	Bugis	batu
	Macassar	batu
5.	Timuri	fatuk
	Rotti	batu
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	varto

	English	*sand*
1.	Javanese (o.)	wăddi
	Javanese (c.)	wăddi
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	pasir
2.	Bali (o.)	byas
	Bali (c.)	paser
	Madura (o.)	bădi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	găsik
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	hanni
3.	Biajuk	baras
4.	Bugis	kasi
	Macassar	kasi
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	fasse

	English	*road*
1.	Javanese (o.)	dalan lurung
	Javanese (c.)	margi
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	jalan
2.	Bali (o.)	marga
	Bali (c.)	jalan
	Madura (o.)	jalan
	Madura (c.)	lorong
	Sunda (o.)	jalan
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	ganggang
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	agang
	Macassar	agang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*water*
1. Javanese (o.)	banyu
Javanese (c.)	toyo
Javanese (a.)	her, jolonidi
———	tirto, weh
———	hongo, wareh
Malay	ayer
2. Bali (o.)	yeh
Bali (c.)	toyo tirta
Madura (o.)	aheng
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	chai
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	uwai
3. Biajuk	danum
4. Bugis	uwai
Macassar	jaine
5. Timuri	vehi
Rotti	owai
6. Atui	evy
7. Sămang	bateao
Madagascar	rawano

English	*rain*
1. Javanese (o.)	udan
Javanese (c.)	jawoh jawah
Javanese (a.)	warso
———	
———	
Malay	ujan
2. Bali (o.)	ujan
Bali (c.)	sabah
Madura (o.)	hojan
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	ujan
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	labong
3. Biajuk	ujan
4. Bugis	bosi
Macassar	bosi
5. Timuri	udan
Rotti	udan
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*river*
1. Javanese (o.)	kali
Javanese (c.)	lepen
Javanese (a.)	bangawan
———	
———	
Malay	sungai
2. Bali (o.)	tukad
Bali (c.)	kali
Madura (o.)	songai
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	walungan
Sunda (c.)	kăchai kali
Lampung	batanagi
3. Biajuk	sungai
4. Bugis	binangae
Macassar	binanga
5. Timuri	motah
Rotti	laialak
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	sungai
Madagascar	

English	*lake*
1. Javanese (o.)	rowo
Javanese (c.)	rawi
Javanese (a.)	tasek
———	
———	
Malay	tasek danao
2. Bali (o.)	talaga
Bali (c.)	danu
Madura (o.)	subang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	ranchuk
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	danao
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	balange
Macassar	balang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	laut
Madagascar	

	English	*sea*
1.	Javanese (o.)	săgoro
	Javanese (c.)	săgantăn
	Javanese (a.)	samudro
	———	jaladri jolonidi
	———	hernowo
	Malay	laut
2.	Bali (o.)	pasih
	Bali (c.)	săgara
	Madura (o.)	tasek lahot
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	laut
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampuug	lawok
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tamparang tasi
	Macassar	tamparang
5.	Timuri	lur
	Rotti	tasi
6.	Atui	tai
7.	Sămang	laut
	Madagascar	reak

	English	*wave*
1.	Javanese (o.)	ombak
	Javanese (c.)	alun
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	ombak
2.	Bali (o.)	ombak
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	umba
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lambak
	Sunda (c.)	ombak
	Lampung	hombak
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	bungbang
	Macassar	bungbang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	onezur

	English	*flood*
1.	Javanese (o.)	rob
	Javanese (c.)	rob
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	pasang
2.	Bali (o.)	blabar
	Bali (c.)	bak
	Madura (o.)	undor
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	chahak
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	tukada
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	bonang
	Macassar	bonang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*ebb*
1.	Javanese (o.)	surud
	Javanese (c.)	surud
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	surut
2.	Bali (o.)	măkahad
	Bali (c.)	kăbăk
	Madura (o.)	mărah
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	surud
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	lango
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	esa
	Macassar	esa
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*fire*
1.	Javanese (o.)	găni latu
	Javanese (c.)	bromo
	Javanese (a.)	dahono hapi
	———	agni pawoko
	———	bahni liki
	Malay	api
2.	Bali (o.)	api
	Bali (c.)	brahma
	Madura (o.)	apoi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	sana
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	apoi
3.	Biajuk	apoi
4.	Bugis	api*
	Macassar	pepe
5.	Timuri	ahi
	Rotti	hai
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	us
	Madagascar	offu

	English	*charcoal*
1.	Javanese (o.)	arăng
	Javanese (c.)	arăng
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	arăng
2.	Bali (o.)	arang
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	arang
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	rohak kalar
	Sunda (c.)	arăng
	Lampung	salong
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	chumi
	Macassar	chumi
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	hannying
	Madagascar	

	English	*ashes*
1.	Javanese (o.)	awu
	Javanese (c.)	awu
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	abu
2.	Bali (o.)	haon
	Bali (c.)	habu
	Madura (o.)	abu
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lăbbu
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	hambua
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	awu
	Macassar	awu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	tapip
	Madagascar	lavanuk

	English	*smoke*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kukus
	Javanese (c.)	kukus
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	asap
2.	Bali (o.)	handus
	Bali (c.)	kukus
	Madura (o.)	okos
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	hasăp
	Sunda (c.	
	Lampung	hasah
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	umbu
	Macassar	umbu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	e-el
	Madagascar	lembuk

English	*air*
1. Javanese (o.)	angin
Javanese (c.)	angin
Javanese (a.)	hudara
———	
———	
Malay	angin
2. Bali (o.)	hangin
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	angin
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	angin
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	angin
3. Biajuk	riwut
4. Bugis	anging
Macassar	anging
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	orughin

English	*cloud*
1. Javanese (o.)	mego
Javanese (c.)	mego
Javanese (a.)	himo
———	jolodoro
———	
Malay	mega awan
2. Bali (o.)	mega
Bali (c.)	hambubn
Madura (o.)	mega
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	mega
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	aban
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	rangmang
Macassar	rangmang
5. Timuri	lalaihan
Rotti	hapas
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	rauho

English	*dark*
1. Javanese (o.)	pătăng
Javanese (c.)	pătăng
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	gălap
2. Bali (o.)	pătăng
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	pătang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kălan
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	sasang
Macassar	sasang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	myeak

English	*wind*
1. Javanese (o.)	angin
Javanese (c.)	barat
Javanese (a.)	maruto
———	pawono
———	samirono
Malay	angin
2. Bali (o.)	kalm
Bali (c.)	kanging
Madura (o.)	angin
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	angin
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	angin
3. Biajuk	anging
4. Bugis	anging
Macassar	anging
5. Timuri	anin
Rotti	anin
6. Atui	matani
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	orughin

English	*cold*
1. Javanese (o.)	atis adăm
Javanese (c.)	asrăp
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	dingin săjuk
2. Bali (o.)	dingin
Bali (c.)	hasrap
Madura (o.)	chălap
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tiis
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	ngeson
3. Biajuk	hadingin
4. Bugis	chăke
Macassar	dining
5. Timuri	malirin
Rotti	makasufoh
6. Atui	toe
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*dew*
1. Javanese (o.)	ămbun
Javanese (c.)	ămbun
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	ămbun
2. Bali (o.)	bun
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	abun, armon
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	ibun
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	imbon
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	apung
Macassar	apung
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	aundew

English	*thunder*
1. Javanese (o.)	gludug
Javanese (c.)	gludug
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	guntur, guruh
2. Bali (o.)	grug-grug
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	gludug
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	gugur
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	gugoh
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	gunturu
Macassar	gunturu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	hotuk

English	*lightning*
1. Javanese (o.)	kilat tatit
Javanese (c.)	chăleret
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	kilat
2. Bali (o.)	kălep
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kălap
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kilat
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kilat
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kila
Macassar	kila
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	munghalucks

English	*man*
1. Javanese (o.)	lanang lălaki
Javanese (c.)	jalăr
Javanese (a.)	kakung
———	
———	
Malay	laki
2. Bali (o.)	muwani
Bali (c.)	lanang
Madura (o.)	lălakeh
Madura (c.)	langang
Sunda (o.)	lalakkipanlăgat
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bakas
3. Biajuk	hatoe
4. Bugis	uruani
Macassar	burani
5. Timuri	mani
Rotti	fao
Atui	tanne
7. Sămang	tumkal
Madagascar	loyhe

English	*woman*
1. Javanese (o.)	wadon
Javanese (c.)	estri
Javanese (a.)	wanito
———	gallu
———	wanndyo
Malay	parampuan
2. Bali (o.)	loh
Bali (c.)	hestri
Madura (o.)	babineh
Madura (c.)	estri
Sunda (o.)	awewek
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	baibai
3. Biajuk	lubawe
4. Bugis	makunrai
Macassar	baini
5. Timuri	faitoh
Rotti	ena
6. Atui	waheine
7. Sămang	badon
Madagascar	ampelle

English	*man (the spe.)*
1. Javanese (o.)	wong
Javanese (c.)	tiyang jalmi
Javanese (a.)	jalmo
———	manuso
———	
Malay	orăng
2. Bali (o.)	jalma
Bali (c.)	janma manusa
Madura (o.)	oreng
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	jălăma
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jalmo hulun
3. Biajuk	uluh
4. Bugis	taowe
Macassaar	tao
5. Timuri	aima
Rotti	halaholi
6. Atui	taata, taugata
7. Sămag	hămme
Madagascar	hulu

English	*child*
1. Javanese (o.)	anak
Javanese (c.)	putro
Javanese (a.)	suto hatmojo
———	siwi
———	sunu
Malay	anak
2. Bali (o.)	piyanak
Bali (c.)	oka putra
Madura (o.)	anak
Madura (c.)	potra
Sunda (o.)	orok anak
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	ana
3. Biajuk	anăk
4. Bugis	ana
Macassar	ana
5. Timuri	oah
Rotti	anak
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	wung aneg
Madagascar	anak

	English	*virgin*
1.	Javanese (o.)	prawan
	Javanese (c.)	prawan
	Javanese (a.)	kănyo
	———	roro
	———	suhti
	Malay	anak dara
2.	Bali (o.)	daa
	Bali (c.)	prawan
	Madura (o.)	praban
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lanjang
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	muli
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	prawang
	Macassar	prawang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*father*
1.	Javanese (o.)	bopo pak
	Javanese (c.)	romo
	Javanese (a.)	sudarmo
	———	pito
	———	yayah
	Malay	bapa, pa
2.	Bali (o.)	nanang bapa
	Bali (c.)	guru
	Madura (o.)	bupah
	Madura (c.)	rama
	Sunda (o.)	bapa
	Sunda (c.)	rama
	Lampung	ama, bapa
3.	Biajuk	apang
4.	Bugis	ambo
	Macassar	bapa
5.	Timuri	ama
	Rotti	ama
6.	Atui	modu tanne
7.	Sămang	ai
	Madagascar	royya-arber

	English	*mother*
1.	Javanese (o.)	bok mak ibu
	Javanese (c.)	biyang
	Javanese (a.)	mata
	———	
	———	
	Malay	ma, ibu bonda
2.	Bali (o.)	meme
	Bali (c.)	byang bibi
	Madura (o.)	bapuh ambuh
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	indun ambu
	Sunda (c.)	ibu
	Lampung	ina indok
3.	Biajuk	indu amai
4.	Bugis	indu
	Macassar	angrong ama
5.	Timuri	ena
	Rotti	ena
6.	Atui	modua wakeine
7.	Sămang	mak
	Madagascar	rana

	English	*grandchild*
1.	Javanese (o.)	putu
	Javanese (c.)	wayah
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	chuchu
2.	Bali (o.)	chuchu
	Bali (c.)	putu putraka
	Madura (o.)	kompoi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	inchu
	Sunda (c.)	putu
	Lampung	umpu
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	chuchu
	Macassar	chuchu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	zaffu

English	*brother*
1. Javanese (o.)	sadulur
Javanese (c.)	săderek
Javanese (a.)	sahudoro
———	săntono
———	
Malay	sudăra
2. Bali (o.)	nyama
Bali (c.)	samăton
Madura (o.)	taretan
Madura (c.)	sadulur
Sunda (o.)	dulur
Sunda (c.)	saderek
Lampung	puagi, muagi
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	saribătang *
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	tuanna
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	royloyhe

English	*elder brother*
1. Javanese (o.)	kakang
Javanese (c.)	roko
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	abang
2. Bali (o.)	băli
Bali (c.)	raka
Madura (o.)	kaka
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (c.)	kakang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kaka
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kaka
Macassar	kaka
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	inak
Madagascar	

English	*younger brother*
1. Javanese (o.)	adi
Javanese (c.)	ari
Javanese (a.)	rayi
———	yayi
———	
Malay	adik
2. Bali (o.)	adi sahi
Bali (c.)	hari rayi
Madura (o.)	alek
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	adik ayi
Sunda (c.)	rai
Lampung	ading
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	angrina
Macassar	ari
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	teina
7. Sămang	be
Madagascar	

English	*bride & bridegr.*
1. Javanese (o.)	pănganten
Javanese (c.)	pănganten
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	pănganten
2. Bali (o.)	pănganten
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	pănganten
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	pănganten
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	maju, bunting
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	bunting
Macassar	bunting
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

* "Of the same womb."

English	*child-in-law*
1. Javanese (o.)	mantu
Javanese (c.)	mantu
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	mănantu
2. Bali (o.)	mantu
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	manto
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	mantu
Sunda (c.)	minantu
Lampung	mantu
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	minatuna
Macassar	mintu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	pesau
Madagascar	

English	*body*
1. Javanese (o.)	badan awak
Javanese (c.)	saliro sariro
Javanese (a.)	rogo
Malay	badan tuboh
2. Bali (o.)	awak
Bali (c.)	raga
Madura (o.)	badan, awa
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	awak
Sunda (c.)	salira
Lampung	badan
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	badang
Macassar	badangkale
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*flesh*
1. Javanese (o.)	daging
Javanese (c.)	daging
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	daging
2. Bali (o,)	hisi
Bali (c.)	daging
Madura (o.)	daging
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	daging
Sunda (c.)	"
Lampung	dagaing
3. Biajuk	isi
4. Bugis	asina
Macassar	asi
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	nofuch

English	*bone*
1. Javanese (o.)	balung
Javanese (c.)	tosan *
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	tulang
2. Bali (o.)	tulang
Bali (c.)	balung
Madura (o.)	tolang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tulang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tulan
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	wukuna
Macassar	wuku
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	ai-eng
Madagascar	towler

* "The firm object."

English	*head*
1. Javanese (o.)	ăndas
Javanese (c.)	sirah
Javanese (a.)	murdo
———	mustoko
———	siro
Malay	kăpala
2. Bali (o.)	tăndas
Bali (c.)	sirah
Madura (o.)	chĕtuk
Madura (c.)	sira
Sunda (o.)	hwulu
Sunda (c.)	sira
Lampung	hulu
3. Biajuk	takuluk
4. Bugis	wulu
Macassar	wulu
5. Timuri	ulu
Rotti	langa
6. Atui	epu
7. Sămang	kăi
Madagascar	luher

English	*face*
1. Javanese (o.)	rahi
Javanese (c.)	wădono
Javanese (a.)	muko
———	waktro
———	
Malay	muka
2. Bali (o.)	mua
Bali (c.)	rai
Madura (o.)	muha
Madura (c.)	badana
Sunda (o.)	bangat
Sunda (c.)	rarayi
Lampung	puda
3. Biajuk	bao
4. Bugis	rupa
Macassar	rupa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*eye*
1. Javanese (o.)	moto
Javanese (c.)	mripat
Javanese (a.)	netro
———	sotyo
———	socho *
Malay	mata
2. Bali (o.)	mata
Bali (c.)	pănimgalan †
Madura (o.)	mata
Madura (c.)	socha
Sunda (o.)	mata
Sunda (c.)	socha
Lampung	mata
3. Biajuk	mata
4. Bugis	mata
Maccassar	mata
5. Timuri	mata
Rotti	mata
6. Atui	mata
7. Sămang	med
Madagascar	mossu

English	*ear*
1. Javanese (o.)	gobog kuping
Javanese (c.)	talingan
Javanese (a.)	karno
———	
———	
Malay	tălinga
2. Bali (o.)	kuping
Bali (c.)	karna
Madura (o.)	kopeng
Madura (c.)	karna
Sunda (o.)	chali
Sunda (o.)	chăppil
Lampung	chiuping
3. Biajuk	pinding
4. Bugis	toli, talinga
Maccassar	toli
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	papai au
7. Sămang	anting
Madagascar	sofi

* "The jewel," it is reserved for princes.

† "The organ of sight."

English	*nose*
1. Javanese (o.)	irung
Javanese (c.)	irung
Javanese (a.)	nasika
———	grono *
———	
Malay	idung
2. Bali (o.)	kunguh
Bali (c.)	hungasau
Madura (o.)	elong
Madura (c.)	grana
Sunda (o.)	irung
Sunda (c.)	panambung †
Lampung	egong
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kamuru
Macassar	kamuru
5. Timuri	enur
Rotti	panah
6. Atui	eiheu
7. Sămang	muk
Madagascar	orung

English	*mouth*
1. Javanese (o.)	changkăm
Javanese (c.)	changkăm
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	mulut
2. Bali (o.)	bungut
Bali (c.)	changkăm
Madura (o.)	changkăm
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sungut
Sunda (c.)	mamah
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	timura
Macassar	bawa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	ban
Madagascar	vovor

English	*tooth*
1. Javanese (o.)	unto
Javanese (c.)	wojo wahos ‡
Javanese (a.)	dănto
———	
———	
Malay	gigi
2. Bali (o.)	gigi
Bali (c.)	untu
Madura (o.)	gigi
Madura (c.)	waja
Sunda (o.)	untu
Sunda (c.)	wawos
Lampung	ipon
3. Biajuk	kasinga
4. Bugis	gigi
Macassar	gigi
5. Timuri	nehan
Rotti	nesi
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	yus
Madagascar	nifa

English	*tongue*
1. Javanese (o.)	ilat
Javanese (c.)	ilat
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	lidah
2. Bali (o.)	layah
Bali (c.)	hilat
Madura (o.)	jila
Madura (c.)	ilad
Sunda (o.)	lata
Sunda (c.)	ilat
Lampung	ma
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	lila
Macassar	lila
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	leller

* "The eclipse:" It is appropriated to princes. † "The organ of smell." ‡ "Steel."

	English	*belly*
1.	Javanese (o.)	wătăng
	Javanese (c.)	pădaharan*
	Javanese (a.)	gărbo
	Malay	prut
2.	Bali (o.)	basang
	Bali (c.)	watăng
	Madura (o.)	proh tabuh
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	batang
	Sunda (c.)	padaharan
	Lampung	batong
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	bătang babuwa
	Macassar	batang
5.	Timuri	kabon
	Rotti	tai-i
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	cheong
	Madagascar	troke

	English	*leg*
1.	Javanese (o.)	sikil
	Javanese (c.)	podo
	Javanese (a.)	jang
	Malay	kaki
2.	Bali (o.)	bătis
	Bali (c.)	chukor
	Madura (o.)	soko
	Madura (c.)	pada
	Sunda (o.)	bătes suku
	Sunda (c.)	sampeyan
	Lampung	chiukot
3.	Biajuk	paki
4.	Bugis	aji
	Macassar	banking
5.	Timuri	aen
	Rotti	betibu
6.	Atui	he, wawy
7.	Sămang	chan
	Madagascar	

	English	*hand*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tangan
	Javanese (c.)	hasto
	Javanese (a.)	hasto
	Malay	tangan
2.	Bali (o.)	lima
	Bali (c.)	tangan
	Madura (o.)	tangan
	Madura (c.)	asta
	Sunda (o.)	tangan
	Sunda (c.)	panangan
	Lampung	chiulok
3.	Biajuk	tangan
4.	Bugis	lima
	Macassar	lima
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	chas
	Madagascar	tonger

	English	*finger*
1.	Javanese (o.)	driji
	Javanese (c.)	driji
	Javanese (a.)	jari
	Malay	jari
2.	Bali (o.)	jăriji
	Bali (c.)	hănti
	Madura (o.)	garikih
	Madura (c.)	jari
	Sunda (o.)	ramok
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	jari
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	kreming
	Macassar	jarimu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

* "The receptacle of food."

English	*blood*
1. Javanese (o.)	gäteh
Javanese (c.)	rah
Javanese (a.)	ludiro
———	marus
———	
Malay	darah
2. Bali (o.)	gäteh
Bali (c.)	rah
Madura (o.)	darah
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	găttih
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	rah
3. Biajuk	daha
4. Bugis	dara
Macassar	jera
5. Timuri	rahau
Rotti	dah
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	raw

English	*death*
1. Javanese (o.)	mati modur
Javanese (c.)	păjah sedo pati
Javanese (a.)	praloyo
———	
———	
Malay	mati mampus
2. Bali (o.)	mati
Bali (c.)	kachat seda
Madura (o.)	pati
Madura (c.)	seda
Sunda (o.)	pach
Sunda (c.)	hilang,* pupus
Lampung	mati
3. Biajuk	mate
4. Bugis	mate
Macassar	mate
5. Timuri	matai
Rotti	mati
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	kabis
Madagascar	mortê

English	*life*
1. Javanese (o.)	urip
Javanese (c.)	urip
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	idup
2. Bali (o.)	hidup
Bali (c.)	urip
Madura (o.)	idup
Madura (c.)	hirup
Sunda (o.)	hirup
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	idup
3. Biajuk	habelum
4. Bugis	tălasa
Macassar	tuwo
5. Timuri	tălasa
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*fever*
1. Javanese (o.)	katisan †
Javanese (c.)	kasărăpăn
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	dămăm
2. Bali (o.)	ngăd
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	gumigil chălăp
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	muriang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	moring, ngaleke
3. Biajuk	garing
4. Bugis	masămang
Macassar	ramusu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
7. Sămang	
6. Atui	
Madagascar	

* "Lost, disappeared," an expression common to most of the languages.

† "Coldness, chilliness."

	English	*small-pox*
1.	Javanese (o.)	chachar
	Javanese (c.)	chachar
	Javanese (a.)	kachukluan
	———	bongsor
	———	
	Malay	katumbu,
2.	Bali (o.)	crawan
	Bali (c.)	chachar
	Madura (o.)	chachar
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kachukluan
	Sunda (c.)	kuris
	Lampung	kuris,
3.	Biajuk	poro
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	pura
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	krir

	English	*venereal*
1	Javanese (o.)	rojosingo
	Javanese (c.)	rojosingo
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	banan
2.	Bali (o.)	raja-singha
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	bănganganan
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*medicine*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tombo
	Javanese (c.)	jampi
	Javanese (a.)	usodo
	———	
	———	
	Malay	ubat
2.	Bali (o.)	ubad
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tatamba
	Madura (c.)	jampi
	Sunda (o.)	ubor, tamba
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	ubat
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pabale.
	Macassar	pabura
5.	Timuri	
	Rotai	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*lion*
1.	Javanese (o.)	singo
	Javanese (c.)	singo
	Javanese (a.)	singo
	———	
	———	
	Malay	singa
2.	Bali (o.)	singha
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	singah
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	singha
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	singa
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	singha
	Macassar	singha
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*tiger*
1. Javanese (o.)	machan
Javanese (c.)	simo
Javanese (a.)	wogro
———	sardulo
———	marga-pati
Malay	harimao, rimao
2. Bali (o.)	samong
Bali (c.)	machan
Madura (o.)	machan
Madura (c.)	machan
Sunda (o.)	ma-ung
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	halimao
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	machang
Macassar	machang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	taiyo
Madagascar	

English	*hog*
1. Javanese (o.)	cheleng
Javanese (c.)	chămăngăn
Javanese (a.)	wijung
———	waroho
———	bahwi sukoro
Malay	babi
2. Bali (o.)	cheleng
Bali (c.)	bahwi
Madura (o.)	babi
Madura (c.)	cheleng
Sunda (o.)	jurig, badul
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	baboi
3. Biajuk	bawoi
4. Bugis	bawi
Macassar	bawi
5. Timuri	fahi
Rotti	bafi
6. Atui	bua
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	lambo

English	*monkey*
1. Javanese (o.)	kătek
Javanese (c.)	katek
Javanese (a.)	wănoro
———	rewondo
———	palwogo
Malay	kra
2. Bali (o.)	bojog
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	monyet
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kara
3. Biajuk	bakai
4. Bugis	dane
Macassar	dane
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	jayo
Madagascar	wergi

English	*buffalo*
1. Javanese (o.)	kăbu
Javanese (c.)	mahiso
Javanese (a.)	mahiso
———	
———	
Malay	kărbao
2. Bali (o.)	kăbu
Bali (c.)	mahisa
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	munding
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	babao
3. Biajuk	hadangan
4. Bugis	tedung
Macassar	tedung
5. Timuri	karaw
Rotti	kapal
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	kebao
Madagascar	howlu

English	*cat*
1. Javanese (o.)	kuching
Javanese (c.)	kuching
Javanese (a.)	danu
———	
———	
Malay	kuching
2. Bali (o.)	meng
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kuching
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	uching
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kuching
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	meyung
Macassar	meyung
5. Timuri	baoah
Rotti	maioh
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	chaker

English	*dog*
1. Javanese (o.)	asu
Javanese (c.)	săgawon
Javanese (a.)	suno sargolo
———	chămăro
———	
Malay	anjing
2. Bali (o.)	chiching
Bali (c.)	angson-angson
Madura (o.)	patek
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	anjing
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kachi
3. Biajuk	asoh
4. Bugis	asu
Macassar	kongkong
5. Timuri	asau
Rotti	bausa
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	ek
Madagascar	amboer

English	*deer*
1. Javanese (o.)	mănjangan
Javanese (c.)	sangsam
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	rusa
2. Bali (o.)	mănjangan
Bali (c.)	mayung
Madura (o.)	mănjangan
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	unchal
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	jonga
Macassar	jonga
5. Timuri	rousa
Rotti	nousa
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	kasak
Madagascar	

English	*rat*
1. Javanese (o.)	tikus
Javanese (c.)	tikus
Javanese (a.)	warset
———	mustiko
———	samusiko
Malay	tikus
2. Bali (o.)	bikul
Bali (c.)	tikus
Madura (o.)	tekos
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	barut
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tikos
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	balawu
Macassar	balawu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	iorre
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	varlarvo

English	*goat*
1. Javanese (o.)	wădus
Javanese (c.)	mendo
Javanese (a.)	mendo
———	
———	
Malay	kambing
2. Bali (o.)	kambing
Bali (c.)	waddus messi
Madura (o.)	hambih
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	wedus, beh,
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kambing
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	bebe
Macassar	bebe
5. Timuri	bebi
Rotti	behi
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	osa

English	*cow*
1. Javanese (o.)	sapi lămbu
Javanese (c.)	lămbu
Javanese (a.)	andoko
———	andini
———	margu
Malay	lămbu sapi
2. Bali (o.)	sampi
Bali (c.)	banteng
Madura (c.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sapi
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sapi
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	sapi
Macassar	sapi
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	lembek
Madagascar	omebay

English	*fowl*
1. Javanese (o.)	manuk
Javanese (c.)	păksi
Javanese (a.)	păksi kogo
———	
———	
Malay	burung
2. Bali (o.)	kădes
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	manok
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	manuk
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	burung
3. Biajuk	burung
4. Bugis	manu
Macassar	jàngang
5. Timuri	manoh, tohek
Rotti	manpoi
6. Atui	manu
7. Sămang	kawao
Madagascar	voro

English	*a beast*
1. Javanese (o.)	sato kewan *
Javanese (c.)	sato
Javanese (a.)	satwo
———	
———	
Malay	binatang
2. Bali (o.)	
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	sato
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sata
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	olo-olo
Macassar	olo-olo
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

* A corruption of the Arabic word *Haiwan*, *a living creature.*

English	*horse*
1. Javanese (o.)	jaran
Javanese (c.)	kapal
Javanese (a.)	turongo
———	hundakan
———	kudo, wajik
Malay	kuda
2. Bali (o.)	jaran
Bali (c.)	hundakan
Madura (o.)	jaran
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kuda
Sunda (c.)*	titiyan
Lampung	ajaran
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	nyarang
Macassar	jarang †
5. Timuri	kuda
Rotti	dalan
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	suwaller

English	*elephant*
1. Javanese (o.)	liman
Javanese (c.)	hesti
Javanese (a.)	dirodo dipongo
———	rinoro matonggo
———	gajah, buojomuko
Malay	gajah
2. Bali (o.)	gajah
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	gajah
Madura (o.)	
Sunda (o.)	gajah
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	liman
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	gajah
Macassar	gaja
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7 Sămang	gajah
Madagascar	

English	*frog*
1. Javanese (o.)	kodok
Javanese (c.)	kudang
Javanese (a.)	chantoko
———	
———	
Malay	katak
2. Bali (o)	kadak
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	bangkong
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	tumpang
Macassar	tumpang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*crow*
1. Javanese (o.)	gagak
Javanese (c.)	dandang
Javanese (a.)	wagoso
———	
———	
Malay	gagak
2. Bali (o.)	goak
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	dangdang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	gagak
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kaka
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kăla
Macassar	kăla
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	kwark

* "*Vehiculum.*"

† Sometimes called *Tedung Jawa*, or "the buffalo of Java."

English	*duck*
1. Javanese (o.)	bebek
Javanese (c.)	kambangan *
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	itek
2. Bali (o.)	bebek
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	etok
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	mărre
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kite
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	iti
Macassar	kiti
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	itek
Madagascar	cherere

English	*teal*
1. Javanese (o.)	mliwis
Javanese (c.)	mliwis
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	bălibik
2. Bali (o.)	blibis
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	balibis
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	walilis
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*goose*
1. Javanese (o.)	banyak
Javanese (c.)	banyak
Javanese (a.)	angso
———	
———	
Malay	gangsa
2. Bali (o.)	banyak
Bali (c.)	gangsa
Madura (o.)	banyak
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	soang asa
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kite angsa
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	banya
Macassar	banya
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	onego-onego

English	*peacock*
1. Javanese (o.)	mărak
Javanese (c.)	mărak
Javanese (a.)	manyuro
———	
———	
Malay	mărak
2. Bali (o.)	mărak
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	marak
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	mărăk
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	marak
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	măra
Macassar	mara
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

* "The floating object."

	English	*pigeon*
1.	Javanese (o.)	doro
	Javanese (c.)	doro
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	mărpati dara
2.	Bali (o.)	dara
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	komantra
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	japati
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	punai
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	bodowangking
	Macassar	bodowangking
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	dahew

	English	*dove*
1.	Javanese (o.)	daruk putar
	Javanese (c.)	darkukuk
	Javanese (a.)	prakutuk
	Malay	kukur
2.	Bali (o.)	kukur
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	walek
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*parrot*
1.	Javanese (o.)	betet, nori
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	nuri
2.	Bali (o.)	nori
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	nori
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	nuri
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	nuri
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	nuri
	Macassar	nuri
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*egg*
1.	Javanese (o.)	ăndog
	Javanese (c.)	tigau
	Javanese (a.)	antigo
	Malay	tălor
2.	Bali (o.)	taluh
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tălor
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	hăndok
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	takalui
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tălo
	Macassar	baiao
5.	Timuri	tolon
	Rotti	tolor
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	tule

	English	*nest*
1.	Javanese (o.)	susuh
	Javanese (c.)	săsah
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	sarăng
2.	Bali (o.)	săbun
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	lebun
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	sayang
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	sara
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	rumung
	Macassar	rumung
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*fish*
1.	Javanese (o.)	iwah
	Javanese (c.)	ulam
	Javanese (a.)	mino, matsyo
	———	
	———	
	Malay	ikan
2.	Bali (o.)	be
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	jukoh
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lauk-chai
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	iwa
3.	Biajuk	laek
4.	Bugis	bale
	Macassar	juku
5.	Timuri	nahan-tasi
	Rotti	ehak
6.	Atui	haiia
7.	Sămang	ikan
	Madagascar	feer

	English	*tortoise*
1.	Javanese (o.)	pănnyu
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	kurmo
	———	
	———	
	Malay	pănnyu
2.	Bali (o.)	boko-boko
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	pănnyu
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	pănnyu
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	hatun pănnyu
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pănnyu
	Macassar	pănnyu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	faunu

	English	*crab*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kapiteng
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	kărkoto
	———	
	———	
	Malay	kăttam
2.	Bali (o.)	kapiteng
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	kapeteng
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kapiting
	Sunda (c.	
	Lampung	gara
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*snake*
1. Javanese (o.)	ulo
Javanese (c.)	sawăr
Javanese (a.)	taksoko
———	sarwo
———	nogo
Malay	ular
2. Bali (o.)	nanipi
Bali (c.)	ula-naga
Madura (o.)	olar
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	orrai
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	ulai
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	ulara
Macassar	ulara
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	ekob
Madagascar	mari

English	*ant*
1. Javanese (o.)	sămut
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	sămut
2. Bali (o.)	sămot
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	bilăs
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sirum
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sarom
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kaliwara
Macassar	kaliwara
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	les
Madagascar	vetik

English	*bee*
1. Javanese (o.)	tawon
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	lăbah tawon
2. Bali (o.)	tabwan
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	nyamwan
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tiwuan,
Sunda (c.)	nyiruan
Lampung	nyawan
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	bani
Macassar	bani
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	gala
Madagascar	

English	*honey*
1. Javanese (o.)	madu
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	manisan lăbah
2. Bali (o.)	madu
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	madu
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	madu, tawal
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	madu
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	jene-bani
Macassar	jene-bani
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	tentala

	English	*wax*
1.	Javanese (o.)	lilin
	Javanese (c.)	malăm
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	lilin
2.	Bali (o.)	malăm
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	malan
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	malang edeng
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	pantes
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tai-bani
	Macassar	tai-bani
5.	Timuri	liling
	Rotti	lilng
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	sud
	Madagascar	luko

	English	*gold*
1.	Javanese (o.)	mas
	Javanese (c.)	jănne,
	Javanese (a.)	kănchono
	———	rukmi
	———	
	Malay	mas
2.	Bali (o.)	mas
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	mas
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	mas
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	mas
3.	Biajuk	bolao
4.	Bugis	bulaeng
	Macassar	bulaieng
5.	Timuri	murak maihan
	Rotti	lailo-pelas
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	volermaner

	English	*silver*
1.	Javanese (o.)	săloko
	Javanese (c.)	pătakăn
	Javanese (a.)	săloko
	———	
	———	
	Malay	perak
2.	Bali (o.)	salaka
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	salaka
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	salaka
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	sălako
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	salaka
	Macassar	bulaieng-mata
5.	Timuri	murak-mutin
	Rotti	lailo-fulah
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	volerfuti *

	English	*copper*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tămbogo
	Javanese (c.)	tămbagi
	Javanese (a.)	tambogo
	———	
	———	
	Malay	tambaga
2.	Bali (o.)	tambaga
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tambaga
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	tambaga
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	dalong
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tambaga
	Macassar	tambaga
5.	Timuri	tambaga
	Rotti	tambaga
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	sarbermaner †

* The literal meaning of gold in this language is "the red moon," and of silver "the white moon."

† Literally "red brass."

	English	*tin*
1.	Javanese (o.)	timah răjoso
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	răjoso
	Malay	timah
2.	Bali (o.)	timah
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	timah
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	timah
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	timah
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tumbera
	Macassar	tumbera
5.	Timuri	makadadi
	Rotti	engga
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*iron*
1.	Javanese (o.)	wăssi
	Javanese (c.)	tosan
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	băsi
2.	Bali (o.)	băsi
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	base
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	basi
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	băsi
3.	Biajuk	sanaman
4.	Bugis	băsi
	Macassar	băsi
5.	Timuri	băsi
	Rotti	băsi
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	ve

	English	*steel*
1.	Javanese (o.)	wojo
	Javanese (c.)	wahos mălelo
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	baja
2.	Bali (o.)	waja
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	baja
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	waja
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	waja
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	veoffu

	English	*suasa*
1.	Javanese (o.)	suwoso
	Javanese (c.)	suwahos
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	suasa
2.	Bali (o.)	suasa
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	suasa
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	suasa
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	suasa
	Macassar	suasa
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*diamond*
1.	Javanese (o.)	intăn
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	intăn
2.	Bali (o.)	intăn
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	intan
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	intăn
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	intan
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	intang
	Macassar	intang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*pearl*
1.	Javanese (o.)	mutyoro
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	mutiara
2.	Bali (o.)	
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	mutyara
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	mutiara
	Sunda (o.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	mutiara
	Macassar	mutiara
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*sulphur*
1.	Javanese (o.)	wălirang
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	bàlirang
2.	Bali (o.)	wlirang
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	balirang
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	walirang
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	barelang
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	cholo
	Macassar	cholo
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*cloth*
1.	Javanese (o.)	jarit
	Javanese (c.)	sinjang
	Javanese (a.)	wastro
	———	
	———	
	Malay	kain
2.	Bali (o.)	kambăn
	Bali (c.)	wastra
	Madura (o.)	jarit
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	samping
	Sunda (c.)	sinjang
	Lampung	kain
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	lipa
	Macassar	lipa
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	panjuk
	Madagascar	

English	*cotton*
1. Javanese (o.)	kapas
Javanese (c.)	jujutan
Javanese (a.)	kapas
Malay	kapas
2. Bali (o.)	kapas
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kapas
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kapas
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kapas
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kapasa
Macassar	kapasa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	hairsey

English	*silk*
1. Javanese (o.)	sutro
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	lungsi dewonggo
Malay	sutra
2. Bali (o.)	sutra
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	sotra
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sutra
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sutara
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	sabe
Macassar	sabe
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*orange, lime, &c.*
1. Javanese (o.)	jărruk
Javanese (c.)	jarram
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	jărruk
2. Bali (o.)	jăwok
Bali (c.)	jărram
Madura (o.)	jaruk
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	jărrok
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	limao
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	lemu
Macassar	lemu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*mango*
1. Javanese (o.)	pălăm
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	mămpălăm
2. Bali (o.)	poh
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	pao
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	mămpălăm
Sunda (c.)	mangga
Lampung	kapalam
3. Biajuk	hampalam
4. Bugis	taipa pao
Macassar	taipa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	mampalam
Madagascar	

	English	*magustin*
1.	Javanese (o.)	mangis
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	manggusta
2.	Bali (o.)	manggis
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	manggis
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	mangu
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	manggos
3.	Biajuk	sunkop
4.	Bugis	manggisi
	Macassar	manggisi
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	mastak
	Madagascar	

	English	*palma-christi*
1.	Javanese (o.)	jarak
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	jarak
2.	Bali (o.)	jarak
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	kaleki jaral
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	jarak kalik
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	jarak
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	jăra
	Macassar	jăra
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*tamarind*
1.	Javanese (o.)	asăm kamal
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	asam-jawa
2.	Bali (o.)	massăm
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	asam
	Madura (c.)	kamal
	Sunda (o.)	assum
	Sunda (c.)	assum
	Lampung	peros-kamal
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	chamba
	Macassar	chamba
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*bread fruit*
1.	Javanese (o.)	sukun
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	sukun
2.	Bali (o.)	sukun
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	sukun
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	sukun
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	sukun
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	bacara
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	uru
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*pomegranate*
1.	Javanese (o.)	dălimo
	Javanese (c.)	găngsalan
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	dălima
2.	Bali (o.)	dălima
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	dalima
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	dalima
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	dalima
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	dalima
	Macassar	dalima
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*indigo plant*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tom
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	tarum
2.	Bali (o.)	tom
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tarom
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (c.)	tarum
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	talam
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	poko-nila
	Macassar	poko-nila
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*indigo drug*
1.	Javanese (o.)	nilo nilawardi
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	nila
2.	Bali (o.)	lăkăd
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	nila
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	nila
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	nila
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	nila
	Macassar	nila
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*black pepper*
1.	Javanese (o.)	maricho
	Javanese (c.)	măriyos
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	lada
2.	Bali (o.)	mricha
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	la-ang
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	maricha
	Sunda (c.)	pădas-hidang
	Lampung	lada-halom
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	maricha
	Macassar	maricha
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*banana*
1. Javanese (o.)	gădang
Javanese (c.)	pisang
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	pisang
2. Bali (o.)	biyu
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	gadang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	chawuk
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	punti
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	unti
Macassar	unti
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	maia
7. Sămang	piseng
Madagascar	ounche

English	*durian*
1. Javanese (o.)	duren
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	durian
2. Bali (o.)	duren
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	duren
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kadu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	durian
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	duriang
Macassar	duriang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	hampak
Madagascar	

English	*cucumber*
1. Javanese (o.)	timun kărti
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
*Malay	timun
2. Bali (o.)	katimun
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	temun
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	bonteng, timun
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	antimon
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*bamboo*
1. Javanese (o.)	preng wuluh
Javanese (c.)	rosan
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	buluh
2. Bali (o.)	tieng
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	păreng
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	awi tamian
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	awi
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	bulo
Macassar	bulo
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	ohe
7. Sămang	labeh
Madagascar	

	English	*rattan*
1.	Javanese (o.)	pănjalin
	Javanese (c.)	panjatos
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	rotan
2.	Bali (o.)	pănyalin
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	hwoe
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	raokang
	Macassar	raokang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	awe
	Madagascar	

	English	*sugar-can*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tăbbu
	Javanese (c.)	rosan
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	tăbbu
2.	Bali (o.)	tăbbu
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tabu
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	tiwu
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	tabu
3.	Biajuk	tebo
4.	Bugis	tabu
	Macassar	tabu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	tu
7.	Sămang	tăbuk
	Madagascar	farray

	English	*cocoanut*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kalopo nyu
	Javanese (c.)	krambil
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	nyur, kălapa
2.	Bali (o.)	nyoh
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	nyohor
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kălapa
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	klapa
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	kaluku
	Macassar	kaluku
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	niu
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	new

	English	*nutmeg*
1.	Javanese (o.)	polo
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	pala
2.	Bali (o.)	pala
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	pala
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	pala
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	pala
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pala
	Macassar	pala
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*clove*
1. Javanese (o.)	chăngkeh
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	chăngkeh
2. Bali (o.)	lawang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	chăngkeh
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	chăngkeh
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	chăngkeh
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	changke
Macassar	changke
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*tree*
1. Javanese (o.)	wit
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	wrăkso
———	
———	
Malay	pohun poko
2. Bali (o.)	punyanya
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	pohon, bunka
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tangkal
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	batang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	poko
Macassar	poko
5. Timuri	ayun
Rotti	ayu
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	chuk
Madagascar	harzo

English	*leaf*
1. Javanese (o.)	godong
Javanese (c.)	ron
Javanese (a.)	potro
———	
———	
Malay	daun
2. Bali (o.)	don
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	dawon
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	dawun
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bulong
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	daung
Macassar	leko
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	ravven

English	*flower*
1. Javanese (o.)	kămbang
Javanese (c.)	săkar
Javanese (a.)	sari puspito
———	puspo kusumo
———	padmo
Malay	bunga kămbang
2. Bali (o.)	bunga
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kombang
Madura (c.)	săkar
Sunda (o.)	kămbang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kămbang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	bunga
Macassar	bunga
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*fruit*
1. Javanese (o.)	woh
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	polo
———	
———	
Malay	buah
2. Bali (o.)	buah
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	buwah
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	wuah
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	buah
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	răpu
Macassar	răpu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	buh
Madagascar	wuer

English	*teak*
1. Javanese (o.)	jati
Javanese (c.)	jatos
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	jati
2. Bali (o.)	jati
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	jati
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	jati
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jati
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	jati
Macassar	jati
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*pine apple*
1. Javanese (o.)	nanas
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	nanas
2. Bali (o.)	manas
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	lanas
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	danas
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kanias
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	pandang
Macassar	pandang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	mernasse

English	*rice husked*
1. Javanese (o.)	bras
Javanese (c.)	wos
Javanese (a.)	dahno
———	
———	
Malay	bras
2. Bali (o.)	baas
Bali (c.)	was
Madura (o.)	bras
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	beas
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bias
3. Biajuk	behas
4. Bugis	werasa
Macassar	berasa
5. Timuri	tohos
Rotti	narese
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	bayas
Madagascar	

	English	*rice in the husk*
1.	Javanese (o.)	pari
	Javanese (c.)	pantun
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	padi
2.	Bali (o.)	padi
	Bali (c.)	pantun
	Madura (o.)	padi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	pareh
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	pari
3.	Biajuk	pare
4.	Bugis	ase
	Macassar	ase
5.	Timuri	hari
	Rotti	hari
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	padil
	Madagascar	varray

	English	*wet arable*
1.	Javanese (o.)	sawah
	Javanese (c.)	sabin
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	sawah
2.	Bali (o.)	umah
	Bali (c.)	charik
	Madura (o.)	sawah
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	sawah
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	sabah
3.	Biajuk	tannah
4.	Bugis	pamariang *
	Macassar	pamariang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*dry arable*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tăgal
	Javanese (c.)	tăgil
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	ladang, umah
2.	Bali (o.)	tăgal
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	tăgal
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	tăgal
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	koko
	Macassar	koko
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*plough*
1.	Javanese (o.)	[illegible]ku
	Javanese (c.)	[illegible]jar
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	tănggala
2.	Bali (o.)	klaka
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	nanggala asaka
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	wluku, singkal
	Sunda (o.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pajeko
	Macassar	pajeko
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

* Literally "rice ground."

English	*harrow*
1. Javanese (o.)	garu
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	sisir, garu
2. Bali (o.)	garu
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	salaga
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	garu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*sugar*
1. Javanese (o.)	gulo
Javanese (c.)	sakar găndis
Javanese (a.)	gulo srakoro manworo
Malay	gula
2. Bali (o.)	gula
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	gula
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	gula
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	gula
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	gula
Macassar	gula
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	serermarme *

English	*salt*
1. Javanese (o.)	uyah
Javanese (c.)	sarăm
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	garăm
2. Bali (o.)	uyah
Bali (c.)	tasek
Madura (o.)	uyah buja
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	uyah
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	uyah
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	chela
Macassar	chela
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	siyak
Madagascar	serer

English	*milk*
1. Javanese (o.)	bannya-susu
Javanese (c.)	toyo-puwan
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	susu
2. Bali (o.)	nyonyo
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	aiñg-soso
Madura (c.)	puwan
Sunda (o.)	chai-susu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	wai-mah
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	dadi
Macassar	dadi
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	ronunu

* Literally "*sweet salt.*"

English	*buy*
1. Javanese (o.)	tuku
Javanese (c.)	tumbas
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	băli
2. Bali (o.)	băli
Bali (c.)	tumbas
Madura (o.)	măli
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	măli
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bli
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	mănăli
Macassar	amăli
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*sell*
1. Javanese (o.)	adol
Javanese (c.)	wade sade
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	jual
2. Bali (o.)	ngadăp
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	juwal
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	najual
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jual
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	mabalu
Macassar	abalu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	vele

English	*debt*
1. Javanese (o.)	utang
Javanese (c.)	nyălang
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	utang
2. Bali (o.)	utang
Bali (c.)	nyambut
Madura (o.)	otang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	utang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	utang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	mangingrang
Macassar	ngingrang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*market*
1. Javanese (o.)	pasar
Javanese (c.)	păkăn
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	pasara, păkăn
2. Bali (o.)	păkăn
Bali (c.)	pasar
Madura (o.)	păkăn, pasar
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	pasar
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pasar
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	pasara
Macassar	pasara
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

	English	*hoe*
1.	Javanese (o.)	pachul
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	changkul
2.	Bali (o.)	tambah
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	landuk
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	pachul
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	pachul
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	bingkung
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	soro

	English	*cleaver*
1.	Javanese (o.)	birang bendo
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	parang
2.	Bali (o.)	blakas
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	bandu
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	bădog
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	chandong
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	bangkung
	Macassar	berang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*goldsmith*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kămasan
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	tukang-mas *
2.	Bali (o.)	tukang-mas
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	kămasan
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kămasan
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	tukang-mas
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	padede-ulawang
	Macassar	padede-bulaieng
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*blacksmith*
1.	Javanese (o.)	ămpu
	Javanese (c.)	pande
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	pandai-bĕsi
2.	Bali (o.)	pande-bĕsi
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	pandi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	pandai
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	tukang-basi
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	padede-bĕsi
	Macassar	padede-bĕsi
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

* By prefixing the word *tukang*, "artificer," or *pande*, "skilled," to the name of the material, we obtain, in every case, that of the calling or profession.

English	*carpenter*
1. Javanese (o.)	tukang-kayu
Javanese (c.)	tukang-kajang
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	tukang-kayu
2. Bali (o.)	tukang-kayu
Bali (c.)	undagi
Madura (o.)	tukang kaju
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tukang-mapas
Sunda (c.)	tukang-kahi
Lampung	tukang kayu
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	takang-aju
Macassar	tukang-kayu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*weaver*
1. Javanese (o.)	tukang-tănun
Javanese (c.)	juru-tănun
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	tukang-tănun
2. Bali (o.)	nunon
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	tukang tănun
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	ninun
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	tanung
Macassar	tanung
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*shuttle*
1. Javanese (o.)	tropong
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	tropong
2. Bali (o.)	blida
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	tropong larenan
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tăropong
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	taropong
Macassar	taropong
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*thread*
1. Javanese (o.)	bănang
Javanese (c.)	lawi
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	bănang
2. Bali (o.)	bănang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kante
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kante
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	bănang
Macassar	bănang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	fola

English	*spinning-wheel*
1. Javanese (o.)	jontro
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	rahat jantra
2. Bali (o.)	jantra
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kantian
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kinchir
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tingkiran
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	tingkere
Macassar	tingkere
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*boat*
1. Javanese (o.)	prahu
Javanese (c.)	bahito
Javanese (a.)	palwo
Malay	prahu
2. Bali (o.)	prahu
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	praho
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	prahu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	părahu
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	lopi
Macassar	bisiang
5. Timuri	roho
Rotti	afak
6. Atui	ewa
7. Sămang	pahuk
Madagascar	

English	*rudder*
1. Javanese (o.)	kămudi
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	kămudi
2. Bali (o.)	kămudi
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kamudi
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kamudi
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kamudi
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	guling
Macassar	guling
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*anchor*
1. Javanese (o.)	jangkar
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	sawuh
2. Bali (o.)	jangkar
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	jangkar sao
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jankar
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	rangrang
Macassar	rangrang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*ship*
1. Javanese (o.)	kapal
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	kapal
2. Bali (o.)	kapal
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kapal
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kapal
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kapal
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kapăla
Macassar	kapăla
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*scout*
1. Javanese (o.)	hălik nălik
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	suluh mata-mata
2. Bali (o.)	tălek
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	mata-mata
Madura (c.)	tălik
Sunda (o.)	tălik
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	mata.malam
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	suro
Macassar	suro
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*watch or guard*
1. Javanese (o.)	tunggu tugur
Javanese (c.)	kamit
Javanese (a.)	jogo
———	
———	
Malay	tunggu, jaga
2. Bali (o.)	găbagan
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kabal jaga
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tunggu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	pakami kami
Macassar	pakami kami
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	ambender

English	*war*
1. Javanese (o.)	prang
Javanese (c.)	yudo
Javanese (a.)	logo
———	rono
———	samoro
Malay	prang
2. Bali (o.)	masiyat
Bali (c.)	miyuda
Madura (o.)	prang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	prang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	părang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	amusu
Macassar	bundu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	mealler

	English	*peace*
1.	Javanese (o.)	bădami
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	damai
2.	Bali (o.)	kasseh
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	madami
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	wawuh
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	damai
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	adame
	Macassar	adame
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*victory*
1.	Javanese (o.)	mănăng
	Javanese (c.)	joyo
	Javanese (a.)	joyo wijoyo
	Malay	mănang
2.	Bali (o.)	măndăp
	Bali (c.)	mănang
	Madura (o.)	mănang
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	mănang
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	mănang
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pachao
	Macassar	anyaoru
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*defeat*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kalah
	Javanese (c.)	kawon
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	alah
2.	Bali (o.)	kalah
	Bali (c.)	kawon
	Madura (o.)	kalah
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	elleh
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	kalah, alah
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	ŋikahaoni
	Macassar	năsaoru
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*flight*
1.	Javanese (o.)	mălayu
	Javanese (c.)	mălajang
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	lari
2.	Bali (o.)	malain
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	buru
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lumpat
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	tagaglijong
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	larini
	Macassar	larimi
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*bow*
1. Javanese (o.)	gandewo
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	chopo
———	ghru
———	laras
Malay	panah
2. Bali (o.)	
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	panah
Madura (c.)	gandiwa
Sunda (o.)	păteng
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	panah
Macassar	panah
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	tito
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*arrow*
1. Javanese (o.)	panah
Javanese (c.)	jămparing
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	anak-panah
2. Bali (o.)	panah
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	panah
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	pua
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*shield*
1. Javanese (o.)	tameng
Javanese (c.)	paris
Javanese (a.)	tangkulam
———	kantar
———	
Malay	taming, prisai
2. Bali (o.)	tamiang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	tameng
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kăpăng
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	taming
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	lengu
Macassar	lengu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*dagger*
1. Javanese (o.)	kris
Javanese (c.)	duwung
Javanese (a.)	chungo
———	katgo
———	
Malay	kris
2. Bali (o.)	kadutan
Bali (c.)	duwung
Madura (o.)	kris
Madura (c.)	abenan
Sunda (o.)	kris, skin
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kăris
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	selo
Macassar	tăpi
5. Timuri	kris
Rotti	kris
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*sword*
1. Javanese (o.)	pădang
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	pădang
2. Bali (o.)	
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	pădang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	pădang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pădang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	padang
Macassar	padang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*spear*
1. Javanese (o.)	tumbak
Javanese (c.)	wahos
Javanese (a.)	golo
Malay	tumbak
2. Bali (o.)	tumbak
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	tombak
Madura (c.)	chantakan
Sunda (o.)	tombak
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pacan
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	băsi *
Macassar	poke
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	leffu

English	*musket*
1. Javanese (o.)	sănapang †
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	sănapang
2. Bali (o.)	
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	sănapang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sănapang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	snapang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	sinapang
Macassar	sinapang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*cannon*
1. Javanese (o.)	măriyăm
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	mariăm, bădel
2. Bali (o.)	
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	măriyam
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	mariăm
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	mariam
Macassar	mariam
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

* Literally "iron."

† For *snaphan*, Dutch.

English	*matchstock*
1. Javanese (o.)	sătingar *
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	sătingar
2. Bali (o.)	sătingar
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	sătingar
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sătingar
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	jăpong
Macassar	jăpong
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*fort*
1. Javanese (o.)	kuto boto
Javanese (c.)	kitoa
Javanese (a.)	bolowarti
Malay	kota
2. Bali (o.)	gălăr
Bali (c.)	kota
Madura (o.)	kota
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	benteng
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kuta
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kota
Macassar	kota
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*witness*
1. Javanese (o.)	săksi
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	saksi
2. Bali (o.)	saksi
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	saksi
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	saksi
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	saksi
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	sabi
Macassar	sabi
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*oath*
1. Javanese (o.)	săpoto
Javanese (c.)	săpahos
Javanese (a.)	prasatyo
Malay	sumpah
2. Bali (o.)	supata
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	sompah
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sapata
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sumpah
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	asumpa
Macassar	asumpa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	mofontor.

* From espingarda, Portuguese.

	English	*prison*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kunjoro
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	tărungku
	Malay	pănjăra
2.	Bali (o.)	blagbag
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	patandan
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	tarungku,
	Sunda (c.)	pănjara
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tarungku
	Macassar	tarungku
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*fine or mulct*
1.	Javanese (o.)	dăndo
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	kapidono
	Malay	dănda
2.	Bali (o.)	dănda
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	dănda
	Madura (o.)	
	Sunda (o.)	dănda
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pasala
	Macassar	pasala
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*retaliation*
1.	Javanese (o.)	walăs
	Javanese (c.)	belo
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	balas, bela
2.	Bali (o.)	tulung bela
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	balas bela
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	bela, malas
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	balas
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	balasa
	Macassar	balasa
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*agreement*
1.	Javanese (o.)	janji
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	janji
2.	Bali (o.)	basaketa
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	jangji
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	jangji
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	janji
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	jangji
	Macassar	jangji
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	melongbre

	English	*king*
1.	Javanese (o.)	ratu rojo
	Javanese (c.)	narendro
	Javanese (a.)	sribopati pati
	———	norodipo aji
	———	maharojo, narpo
	Malay	raja
2.	Bali (o.)	ratu
	Bali (c.)	hanakagang
	Madura (o.)	rato
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	ratu
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	raja
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	arung
	Macassar	karaing
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	eja
	Madagascar	panzakar

	English	*slave*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kawulo
	Javanese (c.)	abdi
	Javanese (a.)	hombo
	———	
	———	
	Malay	hămba saiya
2.	Bali (o.)	kawula
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	kawula
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kula
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	ata
	Macassar	ata
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	andevo

	English	*forest*
1.	Javanese (o.)	alas
	Javanese (c.)	wono
	Javanese (a.)	wono
	———	
	———	
	Malay	utan
2.	Bali (o.)	alas
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	gunong
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lăwăng
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pangala
	Macassar	romang
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*country*
1.	Javanese (o.)	deso
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	deso
	———	
	———	
	Malay	tanah
2.	Bali (o.)	desa
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	desa
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	lambur
	Sunda (c.	
	Lampung	
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	tana
	Macassar	buta
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*city*
1. Javanese (o.)	năgoro
Javanese (c.)	năgari
Javanese (a.)	projo puro
——	
——	
Malay	năgri
2. Bali (o.)	nă gara
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	nagara
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	daya
Sunda (c.)	năgara
Lampung	nagari
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	parasangang
Macassar	parasangang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	tannar

English	*crown*
1. Javanese (o.)	makuto
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	makuto
——	
——	
Malay	makota
2. Bali (o.)	makota
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	makota
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sigăr
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	makota
Macassar	makota
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*statute*
1. Javanese (o.)	undang
Javanese (c.)	părenta
Javanese (a.)	
——	
——	
Malay	undang-undang
2. Bali (o.)	undang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	undang-undang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	undang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	undang-undang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	prenta, undang
Macassar	prenta, ondang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*money*
1. Javanese (o.)	huwang
Javanese (c.)	yotro
Javanese (a.)	rădono
——	
——	
Malay	wang
2. Bali (o.)	yatra
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	yatra
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	wang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	uwang
Macassar	uwang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*religion*
1. Javanese (o.)	agomo
Javanese (c.)	agami
Javanese (a.)	agomo
———	
———	
Malay	agama
2. Bali (o.)	agama
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	agama
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	agama
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	agama
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	agama
Macassar	agama
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*heaven*
1. Javanese (o.)	swargo
Javanese (c.)	swargi
Javanese (a.)	suroloyo
———	swargoloko
———	jungringsăloko
Malay	suarga
2. Bali (o.)	swarga
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	suarga
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	sawărga
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	suaraga
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	suruga
Macassar	suruga
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*hell*
1. Javanese (o.)	naroko
Javanese (c.)	jăhnăm
Javanese (a.)	
———	tumbro-gumako
———	naroko
Malay	năraka
2. Bali (o.)	naraka
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	naraka
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	naraka
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	naraka
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	naraka
Macassar	naraka
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*spiritual teacher*
1. Javanese (o.)	guru
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	guru
2. Bali (o.)	pandita
Bali (c.)	guru
Madura (o.)	guru
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	guru
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	guru
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	guru
Macassar	guru
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

4

English	*penance*
1. Javanese (o.)	topo
Javanese (c.)	tapi
Javanese (a.)	topo, teki
———	
———	
Malay	tapa
2. Bali (o.)	mătapa
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	tapa
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	tapa
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tapa
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	tapa
Macassar	tapa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*fast*
1. Javanese (o.)	puwoso
Javanese (c.)	siyam
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	puasa
2. Bali (o.)	posa
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	powasa, siam
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	puasa, sahum
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	puasa
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	puasa
Macassar	puasa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*many*
1. Javanese (o.)	hakeh, keh
Javanese (c.)	hakung, katah
Javanese (a.)	kweh
———	pranggi
———	
Malay	bannyak
2. Bali (o.)	hakeh
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	banyak
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	rea, loba
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	lamon
3. Biajuk	areh
4. Bugis	maiga
Macassar	jai
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	mawrow

English	*few*
1. Javanese (o.)	kădek
Javanese (c.)	hawisawisan
Javanese (a.)	chimik
———	
———	
Malay	sădikit
2. Bali (o.)	sadikit
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	dikih, sakoni
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	satik
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sabah
3. Biajuk	esut
4. Bugis	chede
Macassar	sikade
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

	English	*great*
1.	Javanese (o.)	gĕde
	Javanese (c.)	agung
	Javanese (a.)	goro
	Malay	băsar, agăng
2.	Bali (o.)	găde
	Bali (c.)	agăng
	Madura (o.)	raja
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	găde
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	bala
3.	Biajuk	hai
4.	Bugis	maraja
	Macassar	lompo
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	bay

	English	*little*
1.	Javanese (o.)	chilik
	Javanese (c.)	alit
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	kăchil
2.	Bali (o.)	chănek
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	kene
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	latik
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	loni
3.	Biajuk	korik
4.	Bugis	baichu
	Macassar	chade
5.	Timuri	ki-ik
	Rotti	anak
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	kala

	English	*long*
1.	Javanese (o.)	dowo, panjang
	Javanese (c.)	wahos
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	panjang
2.	Bali (o.)	lantang
	Bali (c.)	panjang
	Madura (o.)	lanjang
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	panjang
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	tajong
3.	Biajuk	hapanjang
4.	Bugis	malampe
	Macassar	labu
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	lavvar

	English	*short*
1.	Javanese (o.)	chăndak
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	pendek
2.	Bali (o.)	endep
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	pandak
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	pondok
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	bunta
3.	Biajuk	andap
4.	Bugis	maponcho
	Macassar	bodo
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	fuher

English	*sweet*
1. Javanese (o.)	manis
Javanese (c.)	lăggi
Javanese (a.)	datu
———	
———	
Malay	manis
2. Bali (o.)	manis
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	manis
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	amis
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	mis
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	machaning
Macassar	teni
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	gahet
Madagascar	marme

English	*bitter*
1. Javanese (o.)	pahit
Javanese (c.)	gătar, gătir
Javanese (a.)	langu
———	tekto
———	
Malay	pahit
2. Bali (o.)	pahit
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	paet
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	pahit
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pahi
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	pai
Macassar	pai
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	kadeg
Madagascar	merfaughts

English	*black*
1. Javanese (o.)	irăng
Javanese (c.)	chămăng
Javanese (a.)	kolo
———	krisno
———	
Malay	itam
2. Bali (o.)	sălăm
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	hidung
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	babilan
4. Bugis	mlotong
Macassar	leleng
5. Timuri	matan
Rotti	mati
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	balteng
Madagascar	minetay

English	*white*
1. Javanese (o.)	puteh
Javanese (c.)	pătah
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	puteh
2. Bali (o.)	pătah
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	bodas
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	puteh
4. Bugis	maputeh
Macassar	kebu
5. Timuri	mutin
Rotti	fulah
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	păltas
Madagascar	fute

English	*red*
1. Javanese (o.)	abang
Javanese (c.)	abrit
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	merah
2. Bali (o.)	bara
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	baram
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	machala
Macassar	keja
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	tohon
Madagascar	maner

English	*green*
1. Javanese (o.)	iju
Javanese (c.)	ijăm'
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	iju
2. Bali (o.)	gadang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	ejo
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	ijao
4. Bugis	monchong-bulo
Macassar	monchong-bulo
5. Timuri	matak
Rotti	mamasah
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	bălon
Madagascar	michuc

English	*yellow*
1. Javanese (o.)	kuning
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	kuning
2. Bali (o.)	kuning
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	koneng
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	
3. Biajuk	bahendak
4. Bugis	maridi
Macassar	didi
5. Timuri	madok
Rotti	mamodok
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*hard*
1. Javanese (o.)	atos
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	kras
2. Bali (o.)	katos
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	hagal
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	taas
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	kăras
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	terasa
Macassar	terasa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*soft*
1. Javanese (o.)	ămpuk, mădok
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
——	
——	
Malay	lămbut
2. Bali (o.)	măs
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	lembut
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	oduh, siyap
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	lamoh
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	malama
Macassar	lumu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	merlemma

English	*new*
1. Javanese (o.)	annyar
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
——	
——	
Malay	baharu
2. Bali (o.)	annyar
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	baru
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	anuyar
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	muak
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	baru
Macassar	beru
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*strong*
1. Javanese (o.)	roso, kuwat
Javanese (c.)	kuwawi
Javanese (a.)	kuwowo
——	kraî
——	
Malay	kuat
2. Bali (o.)	kuat
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	koko
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	bădas
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tăgoh
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	găsing
Macassar	găsing
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*old*
1. Javanese (o.)	tuwo
Javanese (c.)	săpuh, săpah
Javanese (a.)	
——	
——	
Malay	tuha
2. Bali (o.)	tua
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	towa
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kolot
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tuha
3. Biajuk	bakas
4. Bugis	toa
Macassar	toa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	tuhak
Madagascar	anti[illegible]s

English	*ugly*
1. Javanese (o.)	olo *
Javanese (c.)	awon
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	buruk
2. Bali (o.)	jăleh
Bali (c.)	kahon
Madura (o.)	jubak
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	goreng
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jahal
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kodi, ja
Macassar	kodi
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	rawtche

English	*handsome*
1. Javanese (o.)	bagus
Javanese (c.)	ayu
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	elok, bagus
2. Bali (o.)	bagus
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	bagus
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kasep, galis
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	halao
3. Biajuk	bahalak
4. Bugis	madeching
Macassar	baji
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	sengger

English	*good*
1. Javanese (o.)	băchik
Javanese (c.)	sahe
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	baik
2. Bali (o.)	mălak
Bali (c.)	băchek
Madura (o.)	băchik
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	hadeh
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bati
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	madeching
Macassar	baji
5. Timuri	da-ak
Rotti	maloli
6. Atui	my, ty
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	suer

English	*bad*
1. Javanese (o.)	olo
Javanese (c.)	awon
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	jăhat
2. Bali (o.)	jăleh
Bali (c.)	kahon
Madura (o.)	jubak
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	goreng
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jahal
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	kodi
Macassar	kodi
5. Timuri	ta-uk
Rotti	mangalaut
6. Atui	ino
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	rawtche

* "Ugly" and "bad" are expressed by the same words in almost all the Polynesian languages.

English	*deaf*
1. Javanese (o.)	budăg
Javanese (c.)	tuli
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	tuli
2. Bali (o.)	bongol
Bali (c.)	budăg
Madura (o.)	tengal
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	torek
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	tulok
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	tongolo
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*blind*
1. Javanese (o.)	wuto, pichak
Javanese (c.)	kabuwanan
Javanese (a.)	pitong
———	
———	
Malay	buta
2. Bali (o.)	pecheng
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	buta
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	pechak
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	buta
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	buta
Macassar	buta
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	ch merheter

English	*lame*
1. Javanese (o.)	pinchang
Javanese (c.)	dengklang
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	timpang
2. Bali (o.)	perot
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	tepang
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	pata, dingkik
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	timpang
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	tempang
Macassar	tempang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*fat*
1. Javanese (o.)	blăndung, lămu
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	pustini
———	
———	
Malay	gămuk
2. Bali (o.)	mokoh
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	lompo
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	lintuk, palam
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	taboh
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	chomo
Macassar	chomo
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	voncdrak

	English	*lean*
1.	Javanese (o.)	kuru
	Javanese (c.)	kăro
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	kurus
2.	Bali (o.)	bărag
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	kering
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kuru
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	rayang
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	makojo
	Macassar	roso
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	merhir

	English	*be*
1.	Javanese (o.)	hono
	Javanese (c.)	wontăn
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	ada
2.	Bali (o.)	ada
	Bali (c.)	wontăn
	Madura (o.)	bada
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	aiya
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	uwat
3.	Biajuk	atun
4.	Bugis	ăngka
	Macassar	nia
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	wek
	Madagascar	

	English	*was*
1.	Javanese (o.)	wus, wes
	Javanese (c.)	sampun
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	sudah
2.	Bali (o.)	suba
	Bali (c.)	sampun
	Madura (o.)	ălah
	Madura (c.)	ămpun
	Sunda (o.)	ănggus
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	radu
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	pura
	Macassar	leba
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	lawek
	Madagascar	

	English	*become*
1.	Javanese (o.)	dadi
	Javanese (c.)	dados
	Javanese (a.)	
	———	
	———	
	Malay	jadi
2.	Bali (o.)	dadi
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	dadi
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	jadi
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	jadi
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	purani
	Macassar	jari
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*will*
1. Javanese (o.)	arăp
Javanese (c.)	ajăng
Javanese (a.)	
——	
——	
Malay	mac
2. Bali (o.)	nyak
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	handah
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	rek, hayang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	haju
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	melo
Macassar	ero
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	gămek
Madagascar	

English	*take*
1. Javanese (o.)	amek, jupuh
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	ambil
——	
——	
Malay	ambil
2. Bali (o.)	jănmak
Bali (c.)	ambil
Madura (o.)	nalah
Madura (c.)	mendut
Sunda (o.)	ngala
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	aku
3. Biajuk	diron
4. Bugis	alai
Macassar	ale
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	makon
Madagascar	

English	*bear*
1. Javanese (o.)	gowo
Javanese (c.)	băkto
Javanese (a.)	
——	
——	
Malay	bawa
2. Bali (o.)	aba
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	giba
Madura (o.)	
Sunda (o.)	bawa, mawa
Sunda (c.)	dijayak
Lampung	batok
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	ritiwi
Macassar	nyarang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	joc
Madagascar	

English	*burn*
1. Javanese (o.)	bakar
Javanese (c.)	obong
Javanese (a.)	băsmi
——	tunu
——	
Malay	bakar
2. Bali (o.)	bakar
Bali (c.)	obong, joting
Madura (o.)	obar, tono
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	balam
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pangang
3. Biajuk	papwi
4. Bugis	tunu
Macassar	tunu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	mundyongher

English	*make, do*
1. Javanese (o.)	gawe
Javanese (c.)	damăl
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	buat
2. Bali (o.)	măggal
Bali (c.)	makarya
Madura (o.)	gabai
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	nyiung, gawe
Sunda (c.)	damăl
Lampung	sani
3. Biajuk	manggawe
4. Bugis	mebu
Macassar	apare
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*give*
1. Javanese (o.)	haweh
Javanese (c.)	paring
Javanese (a.)	suko
	tădo
Malay	bri, kaseh
2. Bali (o.)	bahang
Bali (c.)	sukahake
Madura (o.)	bri
Madura (c.)	pareng
Sunda (o.)	mere
Sunda (c.)	ngayapan
Lampung	kani
3. Biajuk	manenga
4. Bugis	erengi
Macassar	sareangi
5. Timur	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	youmayow

English	*kill*
1. Javanese (o.)	mateni
Javanese (c.)	măjahi
Javanese (a.)	kito
Malay	bunoh
2. Bali (o.)	matyang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	matehe
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	kanihayang
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pati
3. Biajuk	munoh
4. Bugis	buno
Macassar	buno
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	chĕg
Madagascar	vonu

English	*I*
1. Javanese (o.)	aku, ingsun
Javanese (c.)	kawulo, hulun
Javanese (a.)	kito, kami
Malay	aku, saya, beta
2. Bali (o.)	wake, hora
Bali (c.)	hachang, titwa
Madura (o.)	senkok, bula
Madura (c.)	kawula
Sunda (o.)	aing
Sunda (c.)	kawulo
Lampung	ku, nia
3. Biajuk	yaku
4. Bugis	ja
Macassar	inăke
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	ou, matou
7. Sămang	ye
Madagascar	zowho

English	*thou*
1. Javanese (o.)	kowe, diko, siro
Javanese (c.)	sampeyan
Javanese (a.)	jangandiko
Malay	hang, inkang
2. Bali (o.)	iya
Bali (c.)	chokor*
Madura (o.)	bahua, dika
Madura (c.)	dehna, sampeyan
Sunda (o.)	sia, silahing
Sunda (c.)	sampeyan
Lampung	niku
3. Biajuk	ikăm
4. Bugis	iko
Macassar	kao
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	bo
Madagascar	

English	*he*
1. Javanese (o.)	
Javanese (c.)	
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	dia, ia
2. Bali (o.)	
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	manih
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	iya
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	tak
Madagascar	

English	*self*
1. Javanese (o.)	dewe
Javanese (c.)	piyambak
Javanese (a.)	pribadi
Malay	diri, săndiri
2. Bali (o.)	dewe
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	dibih
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	diri, dewek
Sunda (c.	
Lampung	nunggalan
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*who?*
1. Javanese (o.)	sopo
Javanese (c.)	sintăn
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	seapa
2. Bali (o.)	nyenta
Bali (c.)	sapa
Madura (o.)	sapa
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	saha
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sạpa
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	niga
Macassar	inai
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	lelao
Madagascar	

* Literally "the foot."

English	*who*
1. Javanese (o.)	kang
Javanese (c.)	ingkang
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	yang
2. Bali (o.)	nyang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	se
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	nu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sipa
3. Biajuk	yewe
4. Bugis	
Macassar	
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	*this*
1. Javanese (o.)	iki
Javanese (c.)	puniki
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	ini
2. Bali (o.)	nek
Bali (c.)	niki, puniki
Madura (o.)	reyah, neko
Madura (c.)	paneka
Sunda (o.)	iyak
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	siji
3. Biajuk	heto
4. Bugis	iana
Macassar	anre
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	tudeh
Madagascar	

English	*that*
1. Javanese (o.)	iku iko
Javanese (c.)	puniku, puniko
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	itu
2. Bali (o.)	hăntuk
Bali (c.)	neka, puneka
Madura (o.)	rowa
Madura (c.)	girowa
Sunda (o.)	eta
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	sena
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	ianatu
Macassar	antu
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	tuk-un
Madagascar	

English	*all*
1. Javanese (o.)	kabeh, sădoyo
Javanese (c.)	sădantăn
Javanese (a.)	sădarum, săgolo
Malay	sămoa, săgala
2. Bali (o.)	măkajang
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	kabeh
Madura (c.)	sadaja
Sunda (o.)	kabeh-
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	saunyin
3. Biajuk	sandeai
4. Bugis	iamanang
Macassar	iangasing
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6 Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

	English	*to*
1.	Javanese (o.)	tăko, marang
	Javanese (c.)	datang
	Javanese (a.)	dumatang
	Malay	pădă, akăn, kă
2.	Bali (o.)	kăjaha
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	ka
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	kă
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	hanakan
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*in, at, by, of, on*
1.	Javanese (o.)	ing
	Javanese (c.)	
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	di
2.	Bali (o.)	kă
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	ai, e
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	di
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	di
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	ri
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*from*
1.	Javanese (o.)	sako, sing
	Javanese (c.)	saking, sangking
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	dări
2.	Bali (o.)	huleh
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	dari
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	ti
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	anja
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

	English	*with*
1.	Javanese (o.)	karo, sarto, lan
	Javanese (c.)	kalih, kaleyan
	Javanese (a.)	
	Malay	sărta, sama
2.	Bali (o.)	sarang, barang
	Bali (c.)	
	Madura (o.)	barang, sărta
	Madura (c.)	
	Sunda (o.)	jung
	Sunda (c.)	
	Lampung	kalawan
3.	Biajuk	
4.	Bugis	
	Macassar	
5.	Timuri	
	Rotti	
6.	Atui	
7.	Sămang	
	Madagascar	

English	*above*
1. Javanese (o.)	duwur, luhur
Javanese (c.)	inggil
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	atăs
2. Bali (o.)	dăduhur
Bali (c.)	bădohur
Madura (o.)	atas
Madura (.)	
Sunda (o.)	luhur
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	atas
3. Biajuk	lambo
4. Bugis	asa
Macassar	rate
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	nuna
7. Sămang	kepeng
Madagascar	ambunua

English	*below*
1. Javanese (o.)	ngisor
Javanese (c.)	ngandăp
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	bawah
2. Bali (o.)	hăkten
Bali (c.)	ngisor
Madura (o.)	babah
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	andap
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	bah
3. Biajuk	waniwak
4. Bugis	awa
Macassar	rawa
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	dirro
7. Sămang	kiyom
Madagascar	

English	*within*
1. Javanese (o.)	jăroh
Javanese (c.)	lăbbat, dalăm
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	dalàm
2. Bali (o.)	jăroh
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	dalam
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	jăroh
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	lom
3. Biajuk	whang
4. Bugis	lalang
Macassar	lalang
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	irotto
7. Sămang	baleh
Madagascar	

English	*without*
1. Javanese (o.)	jobo
Javanese (c.)	jawi
Javanese (a.)	
———	
———	
Malay	luar
2. Bali (o.)	wangan
Bali (c.)	
Madura (o.)	lowar
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	luar
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	luah
3. Biajuk	kalwar
4. Bugis	saliwang
Macassar	pantara
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	mos
Madagascar	

English	near
1. Javanese (o.)	parăk
Javanese (c.)	chŭlak, chădak
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	dăkat
2. Bali (o.)	pahak
Bali (c.)	ra; ăk
Madura (o.)	parak
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	meh, dakat
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	pasu
3. Biajuk	tukep
4. Bugis	măkawe
Macassar	ămbani
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	merrina

English	here
1. Javanese (o.)	ingkene
Javanese (c.)	ingriki
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	sini
2. Bali (o.)	dini
Bali (c.)	diriki, hiriki
Madura (o.)	dinah
Madura (c.)	dinto
Sunda (o.)	diyak
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jah
3. Biajuk	
4. Bugis	korini
Macassar	ăngrini
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	eunai
7. Sămang	ebăn
Madagascar	intir

English	far
1. Javanese (o.)	adoh, tăbah
Javanese (c.)	tăbeh
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	jao
2. Bali (o.)	joh
Bali (c.)	hadoh, sawat
Madura (o.)	jaho
Madura (c.)	
Sunda (o.)	jaoh
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	jao
3. Biajuk	inejao, hetuh
4. Bugis	mabela
Macassar	bela
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	
7. Sămang	
Madagascar	

English	there
1. Javanese (o.)	inkono
Javanese (c.)	inriku
Javanese (a.)	
Malay	sana, situ
2. Bali (o.)	ditu
Bali (c.)	dirika, hirika
Madura (o.)	disah
Madura (c.)	kahdisah
Sunda (o.)	ditu
Sunda (c.)	
Lampung	san
3. Biajuk	kankani
4. Bugis	cozo
Macassar	anjozen
5. Timuri	
Rotti	
6. Atui	jo
7. Sămang	tuk-un
Madagascar	

SPECIMEN OF THE GREAT POLYNESIAN.

land	tanah	*king*	ratu
sky	langit	*day*	hari
moon	wulan	*month*	wulan
stone	watu	*year*	tahun
water	weh	*heat*	panas
fire	api	*sweet*	manis
air	angin	*bitter*	pahit
child	anak	*white*	puteh
bone	balung	*burn*	bakar
hair	wulu	*weep*	nangis
blood	rah	*kill*	bunoh
head	duwur, [illegible]	*die*	mati
skin	kulit	*read*	wacha
nose	irung	*write*	nulis
eye	mata	*I*	aku
hand	tangan, lima	*thou*	kowe
gold	mas	*who?*	sapa
iron	băssi	*what*	apa
maize	jagung	*above*	duwur
rice	wos	*certainly*	păsti
rice in straw	pari	*hog*	bawi
fruit	woh	*buffalo*	kăbu
leaf	ron	*dog*	asu
sugarcane	tăbbu	*goat*	kambing
coconut	nyu	*cow*	lămbu, sapi
yam	uwi	*horse*	jaran
artificer	tukang	*rhinoceros*	warak
weaving	tănun	*fowl*	manuk
shuttle	taropong	*peacock*	mărak
file	kikir	*common fowl*	ayam
axe	kampak	*fish*	iwak
army	bala	*tortoise*	pănnyu
war	prang	*island*	nusa
spear	tumbak	*sea*	tasek
oath	sumpah	*hill*	bukit, gunung
retaliation	walas		

BOOK VI.

RELIGION.

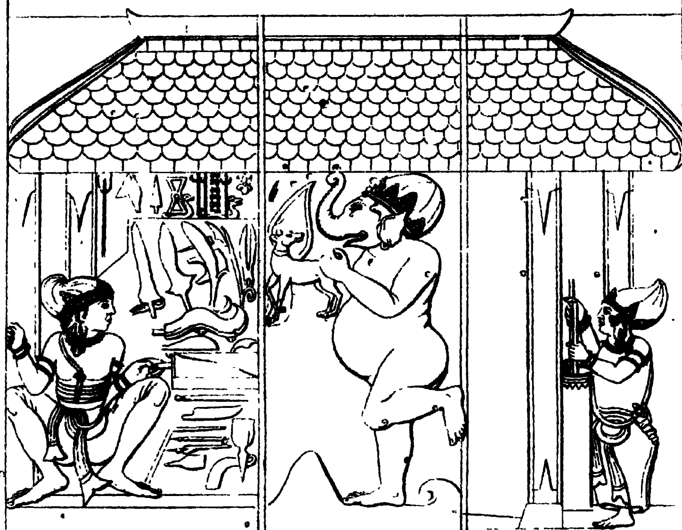
The religion of the Indian islanders, which is the subject of the present book, will be treated of in four distinct chapters. The first will contain an account of the ancient religion of the people; the second of their modern Hinduism; the third of the Mahomedan religion; and the fourth of the progress and character of Christianity among these islanders. Java is, to my knowledge, the only country of the Archipelago that affords materials for the discussion of the first subject; and, therefore, my references are constantly made to that country; and Bali affords, so exclusively, the materials of the second, that the chapter on this topic is expressly denominated an account of the religion of Bali.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT RELIGION OF THE INDIAN ISLANDERS.

Antiquities and ancient religion in a rude state of society synonymous.—Architectural remains.—Groups of Temples of hewn stone, exemplified in those of Brambanan.—Single Temples of hewn stone, of great size, exemplified in that of Bora Budor.—Temples of brick and mortar.—Rude Temples of hewn stone exemplified in those of Sukuh and Kăt-to.—Character of the workmanship and architecture.—Mythological character of the sculptures and decorations.—Statues and images.—Ancient inscriptions on stone.—An ancient manuscript.—Conjectures respecting the ancient Hinduism of the Islanders drawn from all these different monuments.—The first Hinduism of Java, an example of genuine Buddhism.—A barbarous form of Hinduism prevailed in latter times—possibly the worship of Siwa of the Linga and Yoni.—From whence Hinduism was introduced among the Indian Islanders.—Religion and Superstitions of the Indian Islanders before the introduction of Hinduism.—Character of Hinduism as modified by the Local Superstitions of the country.

An account of the antiquities of Java is also an account of its ancient religion, for every ancient monument on the island has been dedicated to the favourite subject of superstition, and hardly a



Drawn by Col. Johnson

Engraved by W.H. Lizars

REPRESENTATION

vestige is found of any architectural remains constructed for purposes of convenience or utility.

I shall offer a brief and general sketch of the leading relics of antiquity, referring the curious reader for a more particular and detailed description to an essay on the subject, in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society, and to another, in those of the Literary Society of Bombay.

The antiquities of Java consist—of temples,—of images, and—of inscriptions, which I shall describe in succession; and, from the inferences to be deduced from the whole, endeavour to render a rational account of the ancient religion of the Javanese, and of its history.

To begin with the architectural remains, these are spread over the whole of the best portion of the island, from Cheribon to the eastern extremity, and are most abundant in spots distinguished by beauty and fertility, such as the mountain Prahu, the districts of Mataram, of Pajang, and of Malang. They are of four descriptions; 1st, Large groups of small temples, of hewn stone, each occupied by a statue. 2d, Single temples of great size, of hewn stone, consisting of a series of inclosures, the whole occupying the summit of a hill, and without any concavity or excavation. 3d, Single temples, constructed of brick and mortar, with an excavation similar to the individual temples of the first class. And, 4th, Rude temples of hewn stone,

of more recent construction than any of the rest. This classification is of utility, for it is connected with interesting circumstances in the history of the temples, and of the religion to which they were dedicated.

The most considerable and perfect remains of the temples of the first class are afforded in the ruins of Brambanan, situated partly in the district of Pajang, and partly in that of Mataram. Among the many groups of temples here to be traced, the most perfect and considerable is that vaguely termed by the natives of the country "*the thousand temples.*" The following short account of this group may serve for all others. The whole group occupies an area, which is an oblong square, of 600 English feet long, and 530 broad. It consists of four rows of small temples, inclosing in the centre a greater one, whose height is 60 feet. The temples are pyramidal buildings, all of the same character, covered by a profusion of sculpture, and consisting of large blocks of hewn stone. Each of the smaller temples had contained a figure of Buddha, and the great central one, consisting of several apartments, figures of the principal objects of worship which, in every case that I have had an opportunity of examining, have consisted of the destroying power of the Hindu triad, or of some of his family. To the whole group of temples there are four entrances, facing the cardinal points of the compass, and each guard-

ed. by two gigantic statues representing warders, measuring, in a kneeling posture, not less than nine feet and a half high, and being, in girth, full eleven feet. This, with very little variety, is a description of all temples of this class. Sometimes the group is an equal sided, instead of an oblong square; sometimes, instead of one great temple in the middle, we have two or three, and, occasionally, the entrances to the temples are but one or two, with a corresponding number of warders instead of four; but these are inconsiderable variations, not affecting the general character of the temples.

The temple of *Boro Budur*, situated in the mountain and romantic land of Kadu, is a square building of a pyramidal shape, ending in a dome. It embraces the summit of a small hill, rising perpendicularly from the plain, and consists of a series of six square ascending walls, with corresponding terraces, three circular rows of latticed cages of hewn stone in the form of bee-hives; and, finally, of the dome already mentioned, which, although wanting the apex which once crowned it, is still twenty feet high. The height of the whole building is about 116 feet, and, at the base, each side measures in extent five hundred and twenty-six English feet. There is no concavity except in the dome. The hill is in fact a sort of nucleus for the temple, and has been cut away and fashioned for the accommodation of the building. The outer and inner side of each wall is

covered with a profusion of sculpture, afterwards to be noticed, and in various situations are niches containing figures of Buddha, amounting in all to between three and four hundred. The dome is altogether unoccupied, and seems always to have been so. To the temple of Boro Budur there are four entrances facing the cardinal points, but here, instead of the monstrous figures in human shape, we have lions as warders.

The temples of brick are found towards the eastern end of the island, and not unfrequently near the last Hindu capital which was destroyed by the Mahomedans in 1478 of Christ. They are from forty to fifty feet high, of a round shape, not pyramidal, and terminating in a dome, instead of the sharp apex which crowns the *temples of the groups.* Here and there we discover, that, in their perfect state, they had been cased with a fine plaster, in which was carved mythological representations, corresponding with the sculptures on the less perishable stone buildings.

Of the rude temples of the fourth class, I am not aware that any examples exist except in the mountain of Lawu, situated in the districts of Pajang and Sokowati. Here there are two sets of ruins of this class, one at Sukuh and one at Kătto, several miles distant from each other. In both, the ruins are so indistinct and rude, that it is no easy matter to render an intelligible account of

them. They may generally be described as consisting of a succession of terraces, for the reception of which the sides of the mountain are scooped out. There are three of these terraces at Sukuh, and no less than twelve at Kătto. The length of the terraces at Sukuh is no less than 157 feet, and the depth of one of them eighty. The entrance at Sukuh is by a flight of stairs through a triple portal. At Kătto we have similar ones up to the twelfth or last. The terraces are chiefly occupied by statues, and sculptured figures of animals, all of which will be afterwards more particularly adverted to.*

I come now to speak of the mode in which the different buildings are constructed, and of the character of their architectural ornaments. The *stone temples*, in point of materials, solidity, and neatness of execution, are very admirable structures. The stone is generally a basaltic material in various states of aggregation, but usually not very hard; in the lower parts of the structure, it is sometimes a white sandstone. The blocks are regularly hewn, and well polished; no cement is any where used, no broken fragments or rubbish any where employed to fill up cavities or inter-

* The account of Kătto is given on the authority of my friend Mr Williams, of the Bengal military service.

stices, but the stones neatly fitted for their places, and morticed. The outer surface of the temples had been covered with a fine coating of plaster, still remaining in a few parts, after the lapse of six centuries, a convincing proof of its excellence.

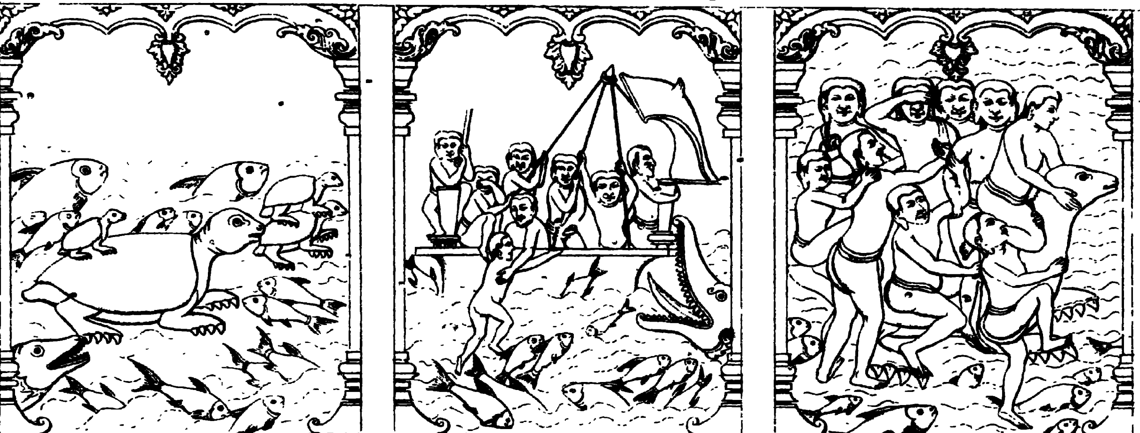
The walls are in some instances ten and twelve feet thick, so that the interior of the temple appears small after viewing it externally. The interior corresponds in shape with the exterior, or is of a pyramidal form, terminating in a sharp point. The stones overlap each other within, so as to present to the eye the appearance of the inverted steps of a stair. The builders of Brambanan had possessed the art of turning an elliptical arch and vault, for the entrances or door-ways are all arched, and the roofs all vaulted. A circular vault or arch, however, is no where to be found among the ruins; and the principle of turning an arch is no where carried to such a length as to convey the impression of grandeur or magnificence. There is evidently a regular design, not only in every group, but in every individual temple; nothing is left unfinished, but all thoroughly completed in its way. What is chiefly to be admired is the excellence of the materials, their great solidity, and the minute laboriousness of the execution. This last quality is most remarkably displayed in the sculptures on the walls. These are covered with a profusion of such ornaments, some in *alto*, and others

in *bass-relief*, while niches in the walls give room to statues, all of them preserving a degree of symmetry and proportion little to be expected in such structures. What is still more remarkable is, that we see no gross or indecent representations; and seldom any even very fantastic or absurd, if we except the Hindu objects of worship, which occupy the interior of the temples, and which are seldom exhibited in the external decorations. It is evident that the whole of the sculptures must have been executed after the construction of the buildings, the only obvious and practicable means of delineating figures and groups of such magnitude and extent, on a variety of different stones. The ornaments strictly architectural may be described to consist of frizes, cornices, and architraves, and a sort of flat pilastres carved in the stone, and not set into them. There exist no ballustrades, colonnades, nor pillars in any shape, the absence of all of which gives to the structures a heavy and inelegant look, notwithstanding the profusion of minute ornament. Upon the whole, the structures themselves are individually too small, the entrances to them are mean, the interior is dark and contracted; and the impression left on the mind is, that a vast deal of excellent materials, of skill, time, and labour, have been wasted without producing a corresponding effect, even abstracting from the buildings all character of utility, and con-

sidering them only as structures dedicated to a system of superstition.

Of some of the ornaments of the temples a more particular account is requisite, for, from an observation of them may be drawn some of the strongest presumptions for determining the religion to which the temples were dedicated. The first which I shall mention is a monstrous face, without a lower jaw to be seen sculptured on all the most conspicuous parts of the buildings, as at all projecting angles, and on the keystones of arches. This, on the authority of the ambassadors of one of the princes of Bali, I conclude to be a representation of Siwa. The prevalence of vegetable decorations among the sculptures of the temples is remarkable. Delineations of animals are much less frequent. The most usual are the lion, the elephant, and the deer; the cow, singular enough to say, is never seen. In general, it may be said, that both the plants and animals delineated are strangers to the island. May the prevalence of vegetable decorations be attributed to the doctrines of Buddha, which recommend vegetables for food, and *professing* abhorrence for the shedding of blood, forbid the use of an animal diet?

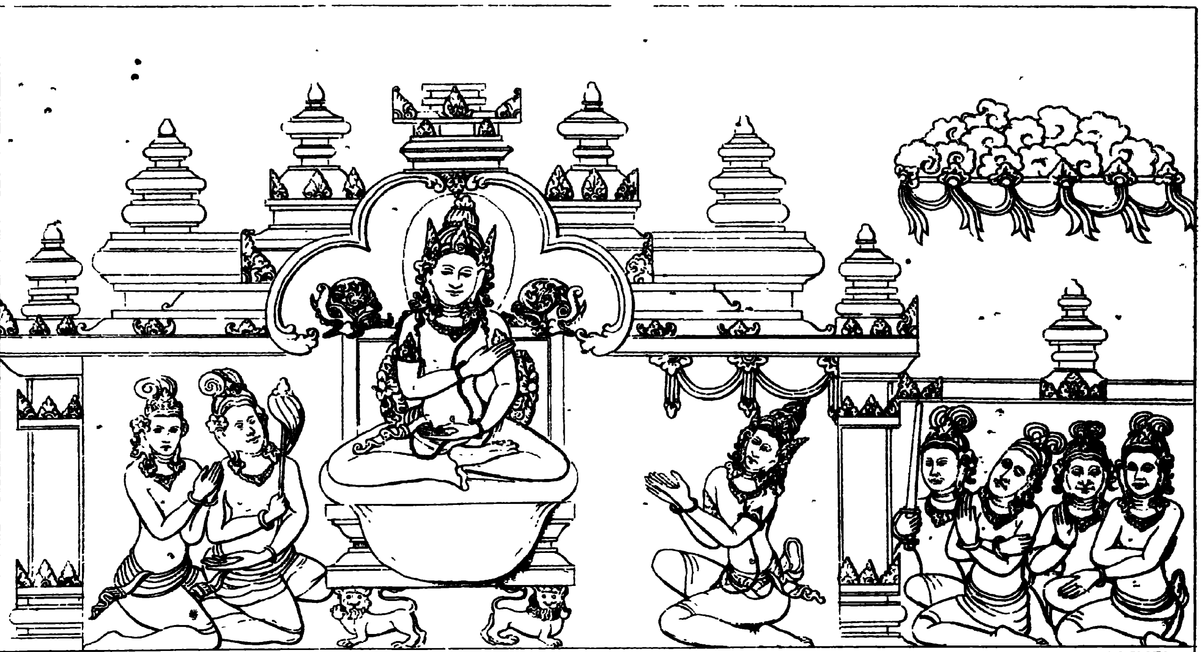
The most remarkable and interesting portion of the sculptures of the temples of the *first* and *second* class are the historic groups so often delineated. I shall take my account of these from the



Engraved by W. H. Lizars

MYTHOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS.

From the Temple of Boro Bodo



Engraved by W. H. Lizars

Mythological representation from the Temple of Boro Budor

Plate 22



Drawn by Adi Warna a Native of Java

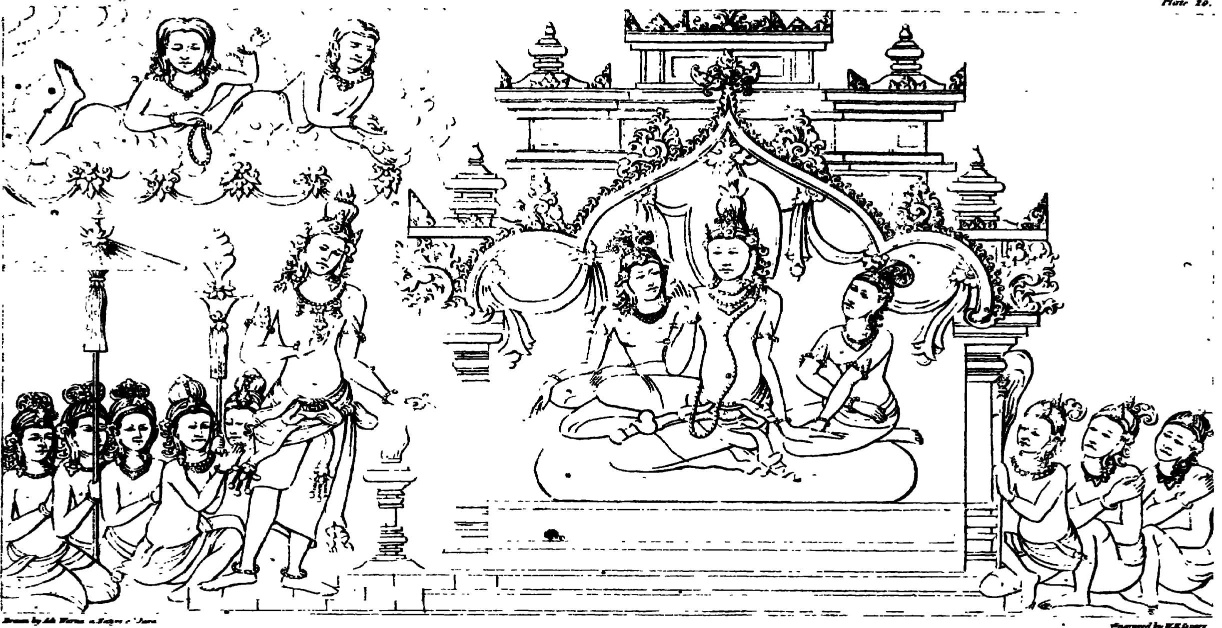
Engraved by W.H. Lizars

A Battle in the presence of Buddha, from the Sculptures on the Temple of Boro Budor

Edinburgh Published by Constable & Co. 1820



From the Sculpture of Boro Bodor supposed to represent Siwa in his car



Drawn by Adi Warna a Native of Java

Engraved by W.H. Lizars

Mythological representation from the Sculptures of the Temple at Boro Budor

Edinburgh, Published by [illegible] 1820



Drawn by Adi Warna a native of Java

Engraved by W.H. Lizars

BUDDHA RECEIVING OFFERINGS.

From Sculptures on the Temple of Boro Budor

Edinburgh, Published by Constable & Co. 1820

splendid temple of Boro Budur, where they are found in the most complete and satisfactory form. These groups represent a great variety of subjects, such as audiences, processions, religious worship in temples, hunting and maritime scenes. I shall select for description a few of those that seem most directly connected with the mythological history of the temple. On the external face of the third wall, Buddha is represented in a great many instances. Close to the gateway, in particular, is one group in which he is the principal figure. The sage, or deity, is surrounded by a crowd of disciples or votaries, some sitting and some standing; most of them are in the act of presenting gifts, which, in agreement with the assumed mildness of spirit which is the characteristic of his religion, are found to consist of nothing but fruits and flowers. Male votaries appear on one side, and female on the other, while the sage sitting in the centre appears to address the multitude.

On the fourth wall of the same magnificent temple, Buddha is repeatedly represented addressing certain persons, who, contrary to the usual practice in the temple, are represented with beards, and whom I conjecture to be the Bramins of the bloody worship of the Hindu destroyer. In another place, his own votaries, with their smooth chins, are listening to him from the clouds; and in a third place, a battle is fought in his presence,

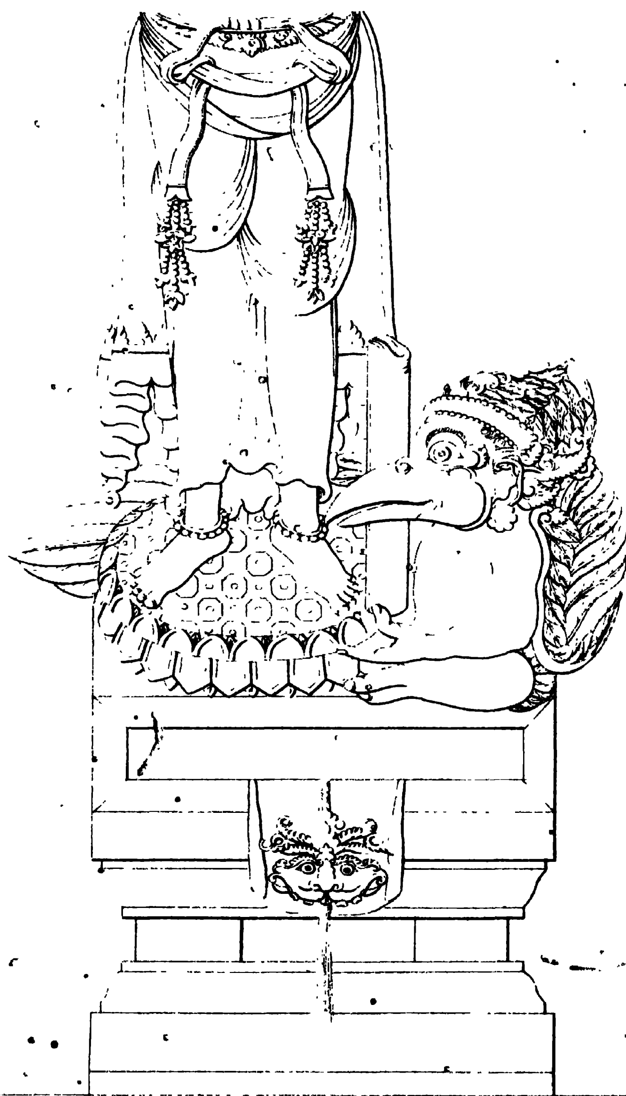
in which I conclude the party nearest to him to be victorious. Buddha is never found represented as *the object of worship* in a temple; and the only figures that are so, are a certain male and female divinity, decked with crowns, and with the distinguishing thread of the higher orders over the shoulders. These want any distinguishing attribute of a Hindu divinity, but in other respects are identified with delineations of Siwa and Durga, where they are better characterized by their particular emblems. Siwa is better marked in another group, where he is carried in procession in a triumphal car, being the individual distinguished by the crescent. Except these, no other mythological personages are represented in the sculptures of Boro Budur, or any other temple on the island. I shall conclude these remarks on the sculptures and decorations of the temples of the first and second class, by submitting a few remarks of a general nature which apply to all. 1. The scenery, the figures, the faces, and costume, are not native, but those of Western India. Of the human figures, the faces are characterized by the strongest features of the Hindu countenance. Many of these are even seen with bushy beards, an ornament of the face denied by nature to all the Indian islanders. The loins are seen girt after the manner now practised in India, a custom unknown to the Javanese, or any other peo-

ple of the Archipelago. The armour worn is not less characteristic. The spear, the kris, and the blowpipe for discharging the poisoned arrow, in all ages the weapons of the Indian islanders, are no where delineated on the temples, but, instead of them, we have—the straight sword and shield,—the bow and arrow, and the club. The combatants, when mounted, are conveyed in cars, or on elephants, both of these modes of conveyance of foreign custom, for the elephant is not a native of Java, and the nature of the country precluded the use of wheeled carriages. 2. There is not a gross, indecent, or licentious, representation throughout, and very little, indeed, of what is even grotesque or absurd ; and 3. we discover no pointed nor very distinct allusion in the sculptures to the more characteristic and unequivocal features of Hinduism.

Of the sculptures and decorations of the *third* class of temples, or those constructed of brick and mortar, the casing in which they were wrought is either entirely broken away, or so much defaced, that we can render no account of them. The more permanent materials of which the statues they contained consisted, has rescued them from a similar destruction, and some conjectures respecting them will be afterwards offered. The construction of the temples themselves is most excellent in its kind. The bricks are unusually large, and well burnt, and the mortar so good, that the junction

of the bricks is not perceptible, the whole wall appearing rather like an uniform mass, than a congeries of parts.

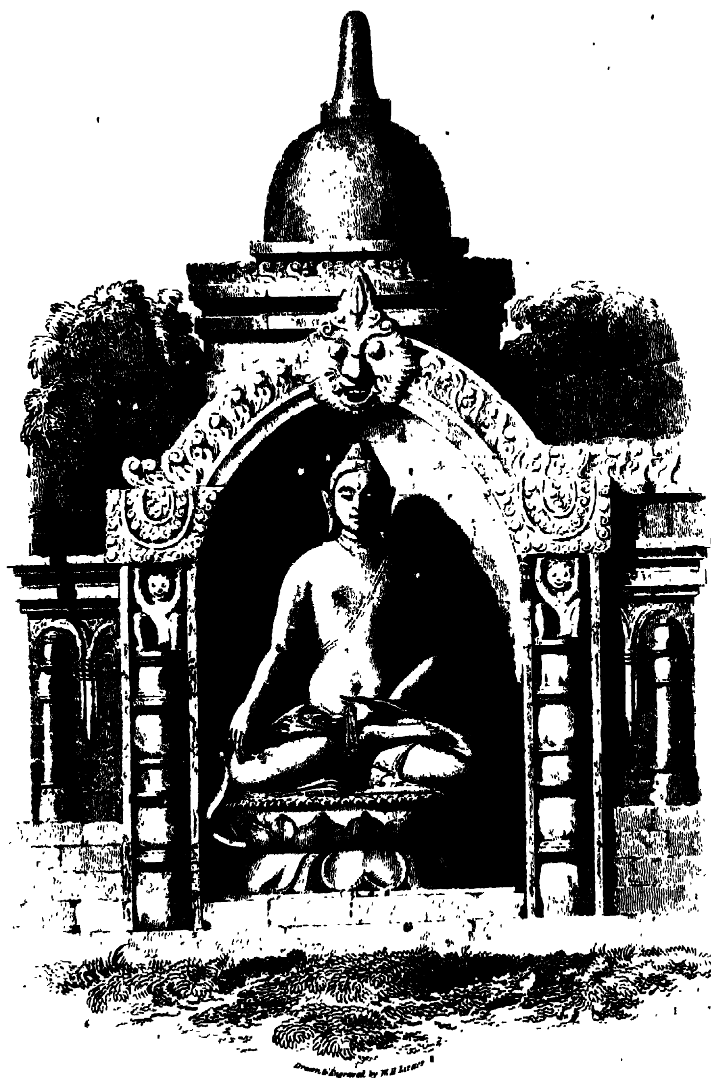
The *fourth* or rude class of temples is in construction so distinct from those described, that some have, though erroneously, considered them to have been structures dedicated to a different worship. They are constructed, like those of the *first* and *second* class, of hewn stone, but neither so well cut nor so well fashioned. In the plan of the temples themselves, we hardly trace any marks of design; they appear a heavy mass of solid materials, and nothing else. The interior abounds in sculptures, generally rude, and not unfrequently half-finished. One of the first objects that strikes us at Sukuh, in the very threshold of one of the entrances, is a representation, in relief, of the Phallus and Yoni, in the most unequivocal and disgusting nakedness. The former is represented, both at Sukuh and Kătto, in a piece of statuary six feet long. One group represents a person in the act of striking off human heads. Representations of stags, tortoises, and snakes, none of them seen in the better order of temples, are frequent. The figures are distorted and monstrous. We see a dog in the dress of a man, a boar with horns, and an elephant with four pairs of tusks. We here discover, for the first time, representations of *na-*



Drawn by Adi Wiina a native of Java — Engraved by W. H. Lizars

REPRESENTATION OF VISHNU.

From a mutilated stone Image in the Temples of Brambanan



Drawn & Engraved by W H Lizars

REPRESENTATION OF BUDDHA

as Exhibited in one of the 400 Niches of the Temple of Boro Budor.

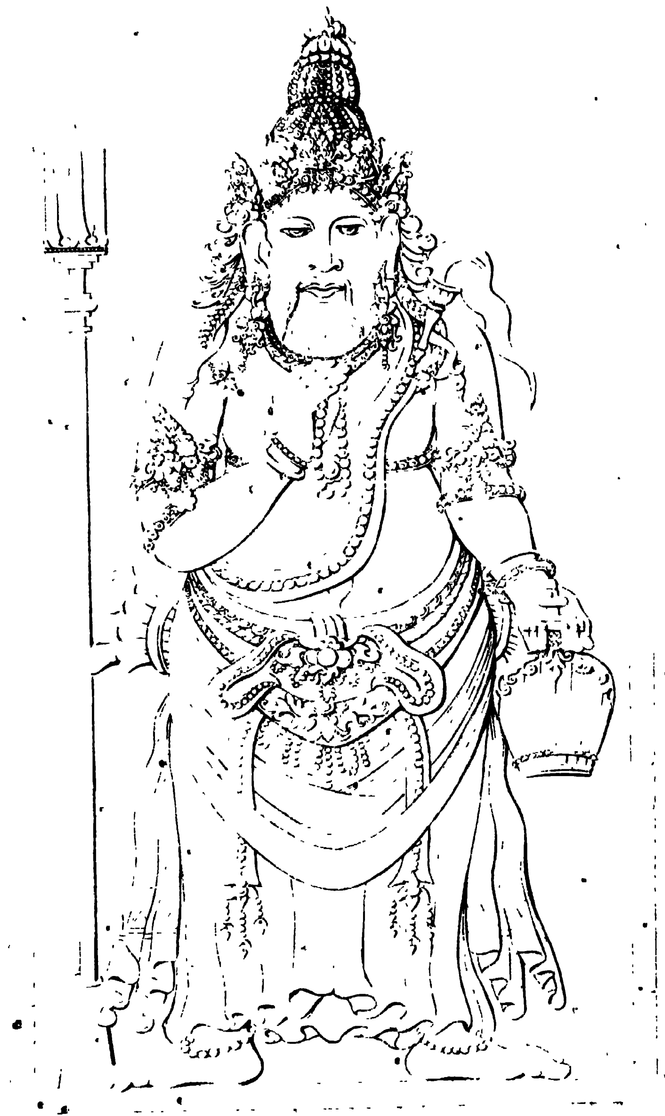
Edinburgh Published by A Constable & Co. 1820



Drawn & Engraved by W.H. Lizars

REPRESENTATION OF SIWA

from a Brass Cast in the Authors possession

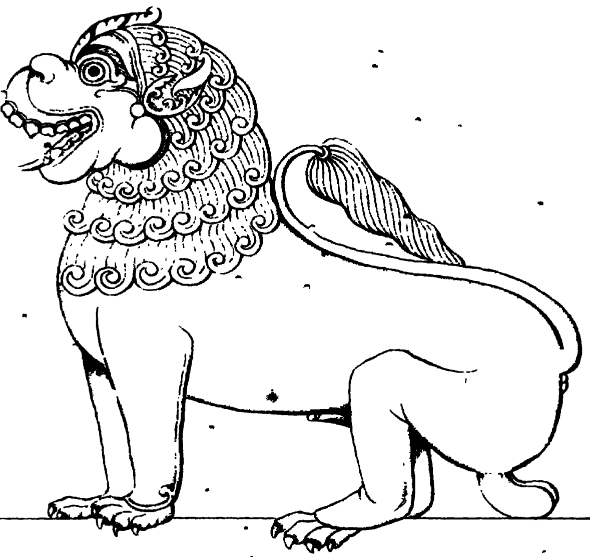


Drawn by [illegible] Warna *Engraved W. H. Lizars.*

FIGURE OF MAHADEWA

in the Character of a Devotee from a gigantic Statue in one of the Temples of Brambanan.

Plate 26.



Drawn by Adi Warna a native of Java

Engraved by W. H. Lizars

FIG. OF A LION

Representing a Warder from the Temple at Boro Budor



Drawn by Adi Warna a native of Java. Engraved by W. H. Lizars.

One of the GIGANTIC STATUES representing a Warder from the Temples of Brambanan.

Edinburgh. Published by Constable & Co 1820.

tive manners and costume. The kris is frequently delineated; and one very conspicuous group represents a Javanese blacksmith, under a shed of modern construction, using a pair of bellows of the peculiar structure of the country, and in the act of forging. Another peculiarity is the frequent occurrence of inscriptions never discovered in the temples of the *first* and *second* class.

I am now to speak of that branch of the antiquities of the island which relates to statues and images, perhaps the most valuable of all, as from it the most distinct inferences concerning the ancient religion of the people of Java may be drawn. The different images may be ranged into three classes. 1st, Images belonging to the genuine worship of the Hindus. 2d, Images dedicated to that worship in its decline. 3d, Images of a rude description, probably of a more ancient religion than Hinduism. I shall speak of them respectively in this order.

Genuine Hindu images, in brass and stone, exist throughout Java in such variety, that I imagine there is hardly a personage of the Hindu mythology of whom it is usual to make representations, that there is not a statue of. Those sculptured in stone are executed, for such a state of society, with uncommon skill. Not unfrequently there is a handsome representation of the human features, and symmetry and proportion are not disregarded.

The material is the same basaltic stone of which the temples are constructed. The execution of the images of brass is far less skilful, yet often respectable, and sometimes even beautiful.

By far the most frequent images of this class are those of the destroying power of the Hindu *triad* and his family. We have images of Siwa himself in a great variety of forms, of Durga his consort, and of Ganesa the god of wisdom, of Surya the deity of the sun, of the bull of Mahadewa, and of the Linga and Yoni, all of them, a hundred to one, more frequent than any other description of images, except representations of Buddha. Wherever the original appropriation of such images can be distinctly traced, they will be found to have been the principal objects of worship in the temples, always occupying in the groups the great central temple. Thus the temples of Brambanan are discovered to have been consecrated to the worship of Siwa, by the discovery in one of the great central temples of an image of the god himself, of his Sakti Durga, and, of his son Ganesa, not to say that the neighbouring country is strewed with images of the same description. The same observation applies to the groups at Singhasari, the most considerable remains of this class of buildings after Brambanan. From the principal temple, there were removed, a few years ago, the fine image of Siwa, in the form of a devotee, with a trident; and the more su-

perb ones of Kala or death,—of Durga,—of Nandi, and of Genesa.

The most frequent images of all are those of Buddha. The single temple of Boro Budur contains near four hundred; there are a great number at Brambanan, and they are to be found in all the ruins of the island, those in the mountain Lawu excepted. The figures of Buddha are the same which are found in all countries professing the doctrines ascribed to that personage. Now and then I have seen an erect statue of him in brass, and on one occasion saw a Linga crowning the head of a stone image of Buddha; but the following is the most usual appearance. The figure is in a sitting posture, the legs bent, and the soles of the feet turned up; the right side of the bosom is bare, the lower part of the body clad in a loose trowser, reaching to the ankle. The hands are variously disposed, sometimes resting on the points of the knees, sometimes as if demonstrating. The features are well raised and handsome, of the genuine Hindu cast; the expression of the countenance is placid, the hair is short, and curled as if done by art. There is no appearance of the woolly hair of the African. The fact most worthy of attention, in respect to the images of Buddha, is, that they never appear in any of the great central temples as the primary objects of worship, but in the smaller surrounding ones, seeming themselves to represent votaries. They are not found

as single images, but always, as far as my experience goes, in numbers together; and when another object of worship exists, always looking towards it. In a word, in short, they appear to represent not deities themselves, but sages worshipping Siwa.

The images of the second class are of a more ambiguous character than those now noticed; but, connected with the circumstances under which they are found, I have no doubt may be identified with the same worship as the last, when it had decayed, and, with it, the arts which ministered to it. Images of this class are found near the temples, constructed of brick, and in a ruder state at the stone temples in the mountain Lawu. In the sculpture of these, the rude inhabitants appear as if left to themselves, and, forgetting the principles of the more decent Hinduism, pourtrayed in the first class of temples, to have remembered only its grosser parts, and to have allowed their imaginations to wanton without guide, when they delineated the rest. In this condition of the Hinduism of Java, the rude images are wholly destitute of the characteristic emblems of the Hindu gods. They are generally monstrous, being partly only human. One of the most frequent is a human figure with wings over the neck or shoulders, and with spurs like a cock. This figure is found both at Suku and Mojopahit. At Kătto, alone, is sculptured a

figure of the five-faced Siwa; and among the ruined temples at Mojopahit, we have several figures of Buddha.

Of the third and last class of images I have little to say. In the least civilized parts of the island, as the mountains of the Sundas, and particularly the eastern province of Banyuwangi, there are found a variety of images extremely rude and ill-fashioned, and which, frequently, by the extensive decomposition which their surfaces have undergone, appear of greater antiquity than those already described. These are, in all probability, representations of the local objects of worship among the Javanese before they adopted Hinduism, and which probably, as is still the case in Bali, continued to receive some share of their adoration, after that event.

The ancient inscriptions found in Java are of four kinds. 1. Sanskrit inscriptions in the Dewanagari character. 2. Inscriptions in the ancient Javanese, or Kawi. 3. Inscriptions in an antiquated but barbarous form of the present Javanese; and, 4. Inscriptions which cannot be decyphered, and are probably the characters in which the Sunda was written. A very few inscriptions only are found in Dewanagari, and these are confined to the two most distinguished remains of Hinduism on Java, Brambanan, and Singhasari. Colonel Mackenzie, in 1811, discovered a long

inscription of this sort at Brambanan, upon a stone more than six feet long, in the form of a tomb-stone; in 1815, I found, myself, another of exactly the same description, and a third of smaller size was discovered in the same year by Dr Tytler. Besides these, smaller inscriptions, consisting of a few words, or at most of a few lines, have been found, chiefly at Singhasari, and commonly on the stone images of the principal objects of worship. I have one in brass in my own possession, on the back of a figure of Buddha, found near Brambanan. No translations of any of these inscriptions have been effected, but I think some important inferences may be drawn from their bare existence, surrounded even among the same ruins by inscriptions in the ancient Javanese; and these are, that a few genuine Hindus of Western India were among the founders of the principal temples, but that they were not the most numerous body of the priesthood of the time; that Sanskrit was not the usual language consecrated to religion; and that, as we see the Dewanagari and Javanese characters existing, separate and distinct, at the same moment, the one was not derived from the other.

Of inscriptions of the second class, a great number are found in every part of the island where other Hindu ruins exist, from Pakalongan to Malang. They are particularly abundant in the eastern portion of the island, and, as already men-



tioned, are found in the very same ruins where Dewanagari inscriptions are found. At Brambanan I discovered two myself in 1812. They are found engraved both on stone and copper. The character of these inscriptions is an ancient form of the present Javanese, and does not even differ very essentially from it in shape, except that it is rounder. A good deal of it can be read by persons giving their attention to the subject, but there are the best grounds for suspecting the accuracy of the attempts made to render these ancient inscriptions into modern Javanese or the European languages, for no two translations agree. The knowledge of the language is lost in Java, and for faithful translations we have only to look to a better acquaintance with the priests of Bali, among whom it is still the language of religion. The only portion of this character which it can, in our present state of acquaintance with it, be safe to rely upon, is dates, *when in written figures*, and perhaps proper names, when these are corroborated by tradition. Trusting to imperfect interpretations of the ambiguous and mystical system of notation in the matter of dates, which the Javanese have borrowed from the Hindus, several of the Kawi inscriptions, it is pretended, afford examples of dates which go as far back as the middle of the ninth, nay, in one or two instances, as early as the beginning of the sixth century of Salivana. Not one of these is corroborated by a date in legible figures,

nor even by the more doubtful authority of the memorial verses, in which the ancient chronology of the Javanese is pretended to be recorded. Dr Horsefield discovered among the Hindu ruins of Panataran, in the district of Srăngat, in 1815, one of the usual stones, with a Kawi inscription, the only one in which I find any reference to an acknowledged tradition of the Javanese, for it mentions more than once the hero of Javanese romance, *Panji Inakarta Pati*, as the reigning prince, *Janggala* the name of his kingdom, and that of his princess, by whom the neighbouring temples, according to the interpretations given to me, were constructed. It is not pretended that this inscription has any date; but over the gateway of one of the ruins to which it belonged, are inscribed in distinct and legible characters the year 1242. The stones on which it is pretended that the early dates referred to have been taken, are exactly similar to this one; many of them have been found in the site of ancient Jangala, the capital of the prince whose name is recorded on the stone at Panataran; the inscriptions are not more defaced, the stones have not suffered more by decomposition, and the character is identically the same. From the ruins in this quarter there has been brought a stone vessel, three feet long, on which is inscribed, in legible figures, the year 1246. Two zodiacal copper cups in my possession, discovered at

no great distance from Kadiri, or Doho, which contained important Hindu relics, and was one of the chief seats of the Hindu worship, has inscribed upon them, in plain figures, the one, the year 1241, and the other 1246, and in the collection of Sir Stamford Raffles is one brought from Doho, with the year 1220. I have never seen nor heard of any earlier dates that could be relied upon. It is satisfactory to find how well these dates correspond with the more recent, and therefore reasonably the more authentic, dates recorded in the memorial verses. Joyoboyo, king of Doho, is there said to have flourished in 1117 of Salivana, the earliest of the temples of Prambanan, to have been constructed in 1188; the most recent in 1218, and the temple of Boro Budur 1260.

I come now to speak of the third class of inscriptions, or those in a barbarous form of Javanese. One of these, in the district of Kwali, of which there is a copy in the valuable collection of Sir Stamford Raffles, contains in figures the date 1363. Inscriptions of this character are very rare, and seem all of recent date. With these may be ranked the dates and inscriptions on the barbarous remains in mount Lawu, and on some zodiacal cups, distinguished from those already mentioned, by the rudeness and uncouthness of the workmanship, as well as by a considerable variation in the character, which is frequently in relief, instead of being, as

in the more ancient monuments, carved in the stone. The date in the ruins of Kătto in Lawu is 1556; those in Sukuh, in the same mountain, are 1361 and 136[illegible]. A zodiacal cup, of the inscription of which my friend, Sir Stamford Raffles, has afforded a drawing, has the date 1361, and one in my own possession 1320. Those now enumerated are the only authentic dates which have come within my knowledge, until the connection of the Javanese with the Mahomedans commenced. The dates contained in these more modern inscriptions are also corroborated by a reference to the memorial verses of the corresponding era of Javanese history. Mojopahit is, in these, said to have been founded in 1271, just about the era that *the seven* reigns of its princes would afford, at the usual allowance of twenty years for a reign. The date assigned to the remains of a tank at Barowo is 1308, and to that of another at Măngăbel 1352. The reader will not fail, on comparing the dates of this class of inscriptions with the last, to notice a singular and important fact, which will be applied in another place in tracing the history of the ancient religion of the Javanese, that the antiquities of Java, during the interval of more than a century, do not afford a single authentic date.

With inscriptions of the class now mentioned, I may rank an ancient manuscript found at Tălaga,

in the province of Cheribon, the only one ever discovered in Java, and which was voluntarily presented to me for perusal or inspection in 1813, when engaged in making some political and revenue arrangements in the country, by the respectable chief of that beautiful mountain district. The manuscript had been preserved for ages in his family, not only as an heirloom, but as a sacred relic, with the safety of which he and his followers superstitiously believed that of the district was inseparable. No European had either seen it or heard of it before, and, on this occasion, the secret of its existence was divulged, in the confidence of satisfaction at the character of the arrangements which were making by the British authorities. The manuscript is written on a substantial and durable paper, the art of fabricating which is now unknown, and it is folded in a zig-zag manner, as practised by the Burmans and Siamese. The writing is regular, but an indifferent specimen of penmanship; and, from the figures, signs of the zodiac, and other characters painted upon it, it is conjectured to be a treatise on astrology. It contains no date, but from the agreement of the writing with that of the class just now described, and the tradition of its having been brought from the comparatively recent establishment of Păjajaran, we conjecture that it was written about the middle of the fourteenth century of Salivana.

Of the fourth and last class of inscriptions, not

much can be said. They cannot be translated, and are in fact in an unknown character. They are all found in the country of the Sundas, and no where else, from whence there can be little doubt, but that they exhibit a specimen of the national character of that people, before it was superseded by that of the Javanese, so that this adds one more to the numerous alphabets of the Indian islands, and another argument in proof of the facility of inventing alphabets.

Having given this account of the antiquities of Java, I shall endeavour to render an account of the ancient religion of the Javanese,—to describe the periods in which it flourished and decayed,—and conclude by offering some remarks on the manner and circumstances of its introduction. The most prominent features of the first class of temples are—the extraordinary preponderance of images of Siwa and his family, and of the Linga and Yoni, the emblems of his peculiar worship,—the frequency of images of Buddha,—the pointed decency of the sculptures and ornaments of the temples,—the existence of the images of Siwa and his family, and no others, as the objects of worship in the great central temples,—and the appearance of those of Buddha in the small exterior ones, apparently in the character of devotees, and no where, as far as my experience extends, as objects of worship. From all this it will perhaps be fair to infer, that the Hinduism of Java was the worship of Siwa and

Durga of the Linga and Yoni united to Buddhism; and I think we may go the length of concluding, that it was a reformation of the bloody and indecent worship of Siwa, brought about by sages or philosophers, by persons, in short, of more kindly affections than the rest of their countrymen, and perhaps to keep pace with some start in civilization in the country where it had its origin. To the arguments drawn from the relics of antiquities, I shall adduce on this point such collateral evidence as has occurred to me. The fragments of ancient writings which still exist among the Javanese, afford unequivocal testimony of the supremacy of Siwa. The following invocation to a little ethical treatise, called, in imitation of similar works among the Hindus of Western India, *Niti Sastra*, is an example. "I salute thee, Hări; (Siwa,) I invoke thee, for thou art the *lord of gods and men*. I invoke thee, Kesawa, (Wishnu,) for thou enlightenest the understanding. I invoke thee, Suman, (Surya,) because thou enlightenest the world."

From some of the usual epithets bestowed upon Siwa by the pagan Javanese, and still familiar to their posterity, the pre-eminence of this deity is clearly demonstrated. He is called *Mahădewa*, or the great god; *Jagatnata*, the lord of the universe; *Ywang Wănang*, the most powerful, with other epithets as extravagant. He is the same personage who acts so distinguished a part in the machinery

of Malayan and Javanese romances, under the appellation of *Guru*, or the instructor, prefixing to it the word *Batara*, a corruption of *Avatara*, both in sense and orthography, for with the Indian islanders that word is not used as with the genuine Hindus, to express the incarnation of a god, but as an appellative expressing any deity; nay, as if conferring an apotheosis upon their princes, it has been sometimes prefixed to the names of some of the most celebrated of their ancient kings. When Siwa appears in this character in the romances of the Indian islanders, he is painted as a powerful, mischievous, and malignant tyrant; a description sufficiently consonant to his character of destroyer, in the Hindu triad.

The Javanese of the present day attach no very distinct meaning to the word Buddha, or, as they write it, being the nearest approximation to the true orthography which their alphabet affords, Buda. They frequently use it vaguely, as an adjective implying what relates to ancient times, pretty much as we ourselves would use the word *pagan*, in reference to the times which preceded our conversion to Christianity. When asked what religion they professed before their conversion to Mahomedanism, they reply, that they professed the *Agama Buda*, which is not a bit more distinct, than if we were to reply to a similar question respecting our faith, that we professed the pagan re-

ligion. The bare use of this word, however, which it is out of the question they could invent, and certainly did not borrow from any modern source, may be considered as satisfactory evidence that they were Buddhists.

The word Buddha, or Buda, is never to be discovered in any modern or ancient Javanese manuscript that I have heard of, as applicable to a deified person of this name; and there is no evidence from such a source of any worship to such a personage. The names and attributes of the principal gods of the Hindu pantheon are quite familiar to every Javanese scholar, but of the name of Buddha they are wholly ignorant. The *images* of the Hindu deities they cannot, indeed, in general, particularize by name, but they recognize them to be such, while those of Buddha they denominate *Pandita Sabrang*, or foreign Pundits or Brahmins.

On the strength of these *data*, I may repeat, that the Buddhism of the Javanese was not the worship of a deified person of the name of Buddha, but a modification of the worship of the destroying power; and that the images of Buddha, so abundantly scattered over the island, represent the sages who brought about the reform. When Buddha is represented on the sculptures of Boro Budur receiving gifts of fruits and flowers, I conclude that he represents a priest receiving charity or donations from his disciples or followers, and not a divinity re-

ceiving offerings from his votaries, because this last practice is no part of the Hindu form of worship.

If these inferences be just, the religion which is pourtrayed in the relics of Hinduism in the principal temples of Java, may be looked upon as a genuine example of the reform ascribed to Buddha, and the testimony which they afford will be considered as a proof that the religions of Brama and Buddha are essentially the same, the one being, as for some time suspected by oriental scholars, nothing but a modification of the other. If this reasoning be admitted as conclusive, we shall be compelled to consider the religion of the Burmans, Siamese, and Cingalese, as corruptions of genuine Buddhism, most probably superinduced by local causes and superstitions, which, operating upon the original system, produced, in the course of ages, a form of worship differing essentially from its purest form.

Such appears to have been the form of Hindu worship which prevailed on Java, when the most perfect and finished of the temples were constructed. At the moment in which these temples were constructed, there is ground to believe that a body of emigrants must have arrived from India. From the earliest date, to the latest authentic date determined by figures, which these antiquities afford, is only a period of 26 years; and the utmost latitude, giving implicit credit to the traditional ones,

will give us but a latitude of 72 years. It is highly improbable, that the Hindus of Western India existed in numbers before or after this period, or we should surely have possessed memorials of that existence. The argument in favour of the arrival of such a colony will not be strengthened, even in the event of our crediting the earlier dates assigned to some of the stones, for between the very latest of these, 865, and the earliest date in figures, or 1220, there is a long blank of 335 years, during which it is not pretended that a single monument exists.

From the year 1240, to the year 1356, 110 years, or even including the traditional date ascribed to the great temple of Boro Budur, 106 years, no authentic date whatever occurs. During this long interval, it is not pretended that any great structure was raised in honour of the Hindu religion. It may, then, be concluded to have been on the decline, and this is the period to which I ascribe the construction of the inferior fabrics of brick, which are, like the greater buildings, dedicated to Buddhism, but apparently to a corrupted or degenerate form of it.

The dates 1356, 1361, and 1363, on the ruins in mount Lawu, bring us to a new era in the history of Hinduism on Java, after the lapse of 106 or 110 years.

It may reasonably be conjectured that these temples are the work of a new sect of Hindus, perhaps

of the followers of Siwa, unconnected with the reformation of Buddha. The Bramins of Bali, who are of that worship, informed me that their ancestors arrived first on Java, before the conversion of the inhabitants of that island to Mahomedanism, on which event they fled to their present country. The ruins of Kătto and Suku may have been structures of a party of these persons. Here the worship of the Linga and Yoni, in the most disgusting forms presents itself for the first time, and the emblems of destruction are represented without disguise or reserve, while not a figure of Buddha is to be seen throughout, and, indeed, not a vestige of that more benignant religion. At the more splendid ruins,—the superiority of the workmanship,—the comparative beauty of the design,—the propriety of the ornaments,—the genuine Hinduism of these,—and the presence of Sanskrit inscriptions, entitle us to conclude that they are the work of foreign artists, or at least were entirely completed under their direction. A very different conclusion is to be drawn from the ruins of mount Lawu. Native scenery and costume are predominant,—the work is coarsely executed,—and the design incongruous, from which the legitimate inference is, that the architects were natives of the country,—or at least, that the foreigners who superintended had little influence,—or were few in number,—as unskilful as those they pretended to di-

rect. The last date on the buildings of Lawu brings the history of Hinduism down to within 37 years of the triumph of Mahomedanism.

This branch of the subject I shall conclude with a summary of the history of Hinduism. In its utmost latitude, Hinduism in the form of genuine Buddhism, flourished in Java from the middle of the thirteenth century of our time, to that of the fourteenth century, during which a considerable emigration from Western India, must have taken place. From the middle of the fourteenth century to that of the fifteenth century, no considerable body of emigrants arrived from India, and Buddhism languished in Java. At the latter period, a few emigrants arrived from India, of the sect of Siwa, and attempted to propagate their peculiar worship, but, with every other description of Hindus, were driven from the island by the triumph of the Mahomedan religion, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, and a very few years before Europeans reached India by the Cape of Good Hope.

In the remarks now offered concerning the ancient religion of the Javanese, I have supposed no other sects of Hindus to have existed than those of Buddha and Siwa. This conclusion may be too general, though authorized by every *permanent* and *important* relic of Hinduism which exists on the island. Buddhism was undoubtedly the prevailing religion of the ancient Javanese, but it is

far from improbable that other sectaries also existed, though they may not have been numerous or powerful enough to have left any permanent record of their existence. A passage from the Cheribon manuscript, alluded to and quoted by Sir Stamford Raffles, would seem to suggest that the doctrines of Wishnu were prevalent in the western portion of the island, but this is an insulated argument, unsubstantiated by any other testimony.

The question of the country of those Hindus who disseminated their religion over the Indian islands, is one of curious interest, but we should refer in vain for a solution of it to any record among the Hindus or oriental islanders. The evidence to be drawn from the examination of language is equally unsatisfactory; notwithstanding this, the fact may be ascertained with a considerable approximation to probability. That country was Telinga, more properly *Kalinga*, or, as it is universally written and pronounced by all the Indian islanders, *Kaling*. *Kalinga* is the only country of India known to the Javanese by its proper name,— the only country familiar to them, —and the only one mentioned in their books, with the exception of those current in religious legends. Hence they designate India always by this name, and know it by no other, except, indeed, when, by a vanity for which their ignorance is an apology, they would infer the equality of their

island with that great country, and speak of them relatively, as the countries *on this or that side of the water*. It is to *Kalinga* that the Javanese universally ascribe the origin of their Hinduism; and the more recent and authentic testimony of the Brahmins of Bali, who made me a similar assurance, as will be seen in another part of the work, is still more satisfactory.

In accounting for the mode in which the Hindus were conveyed from their native country, there is no occasion to have recourse to the supposition of their hazarding a difficult and unknown voyage, for between the Coromandel coast and the Indian islands, a commercial intercourse has existed from time immemorial, which would afford the Indian priests a safe and easy conveyance. A passion on the part of the Hindus, in common with the rest of mankind, for the spices, and other rare productions of the Indian islands, gave rise to this commerce, which increased as the nations of the west improved in riches or civilization, for the trade of the people of Coromandel was the first link of that series of voyages, by which the productions of the Archipelago were conducted even to the markets of Rome itself.

The more considerable emigration which I have supposed to Java, in the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, may have had its origin in some political movement, or reli-

gious persecution; but the character of the Hindus, and the maritime unskilfulness incident to so barbarous and unimproved a state of society as theirs, must always have rendered them incompetent to fit out a great maritime expedition, and accomplish a distant conquest. No evidence of such a conquest, accordingly, exists, and no example of a considerable emigration, except that just now referred to. It is by no means, however, to be supposed, that the conversion of the Javanese to Hinduism commenced with this latter event. The extensive influence of the Sanskrit language upon the Javanese is itself a prominent fact, which implies, that the intercourse was of long continuance; and, in fact, we may safely believe, that in almost all periods of the commercial intercourse with India, the beauty and fertility of the Indian islands, with the simplicity and credulity of their inhabitants, would have brought to their shore a succession of adventurers and missionaries. The very same people, the Telingas, continue to flock to them to this day, when there is far less encouragement,—when in the field of commerce they have formidable competitors in the Europeans,—and, in that of religion, in the Arabs. *

* It was commerce which always ushered in religion. Where there was no room for commerce, there was no religious innovation, as in the Nicobar and Andaman islands, and

An examination of the institutions of the Indian islanders furnishes an argument, and, as far as I know, one only, in favour of the hypothesis of *Kalinga* being the native country of those who propagated Hinduism in the Indian islands. This argument is drawn from a comparison of the kalenders of Southern India, and that which prevailed in the Indian islands. The year in Karnata and Telinga is lunar, with an intercalary month in every thirty, and the era commences with the birth of *Salivana* or *Saka*, 78 years after Christ. This, with all its particulars, is the kalender which prevailed in Java, and which at present obtains in the Hindu country of Bali, as its name, *Saka warsa chandra*, distinctly implies. The same kalender and era do not generally prevail in Hindustan; and with respect to the nations of the Deccan, those of the south place the birth of *Saka* or *Salivana* one year later than the people of Carnata and Telinga, and, of course, one year later than the Indian islanders. This valuable fact will determine us to the northern part of the eastern portion of the Deccan, and, as maritime emigrations from the interior of a great country are improbable, to the *sea-coast*,

some of the poorer of the great Archipelago. Religious innovation was carried farthest where there was most commerce, as in Java, the coast of Sumatra, and the Malayan Peninsula.

where in all ages down to the present, we are led to believe that the Telinga people were the chief, or only considerable foreign navigators.

Before bringing this chapter on the antiquities and ancient religion of Java to a close, I shall offer some remarks on the circumstances under which Hinduism existed in Java, as it must necessarily have been modified by the manners and character of the society which adopted it.

Before entering upon this subject, it will be necessary to examine the character of those superstitions which the Hindu religion would have to encounter. In so rude a state of society as that of the Javanese, the nature of the language affords no grounds to believe that there was any personification of abstract ideas, but the common objects of nature *were* personified, and the woods, the waters, and the air, were peopled with deities, the objects of fear, or adoration, or both, with the Javanese. To this day, their belief in these local deities is hardly diminished, after the admission of the superstitions of two foreign religions, such is the measure of their credulity. The subject will be more intelligible if I enumerate a few of them. The *Banaspati* are evil spirits that inhabit large trees, and wander about at night doing mischief. The *Bĕrkasahan* are evil genii who inhabit the air, wandering about without any fixed habitation. The *Dămmit* are good genii in human form, the tute-

lary protectors of houses and villages. The *Prayangan* are beautiful genii of female forms, who bewitch man, and occasion madness; they inhabit trees, dwelling chiefly on the banks of rivers. The *Kăbo Kămale* are evil male genii, usually presenting themselves in the shape of buffaloes, but often taking the form of husbands to deceive wives; they are the patrons of thieves and robbers. The *Wewe* are malignant spirits, in the form of gigantic females, who carry off infants. The *Dadungawu* protect the wild animals of the forest, and are the patrons of the hunter. In Bali, as will be seen in the account of that island, the bulk of the people, notwithstanding their profession of Hinduism, have peopled the elements, mountains, and forests, with their local deities, assigning a tutelary god to each state or province, and erecting temples to them. There is little doubt but Hinduism in Java was on the very same footing. * The inhabitants of the Indian islands are not in a state of society to relish the laborious subtleties, and the troublesome ceremonies of the Hindu religion and ritual, and there is no doubt but the Brahmins

* The people of the Moluccas had the same form of religion. "They knew of no God," says Valentyn, "but maintained that every province had its demon, that plagued or protected it as he thought proper, on whom, in danger or affliction, they always called."—*Valentyn*, Deel I.

found it for their interest not to insist upon a too rigid adherence to them. We may be certain that the Hindu religion was not established in Java with that inveterate and unsociable character which distinguishes it in Western India. The distinction into casts was but barely established; of the third, or mercantile class, I see no mention made at all. In so rude a state of society as that which existed in Java, we cannot, indeed, contemplate more than three orders;—the priests,—the rulers, or military,—and the people, or servile body. The priests of Hinduism could readily make such an arrangement; it was, in fact, nearly made to their hands, but the existence of a middle order, or mercantile class, implies a considerable advance in the march of industry and improvement, and such a body, even a religious law could not create. The four casts, it may, to be sure, be alleged, exist in Bali, but in that island the arrangement is of a more modern date, and belongs to a more improved period of society; slavery exists in that island, and slaves are denominated the servile class, while the actual cultivators of the soil are the mercantile. In the ancient laws of the Javanese, no distinction, it is singular, is made in the award of punishment in favour of the Brahman, one of the most remarkable features in the laws of the genuine Hindus; but a distinction is always made, on the other hand, in favour of the king. This may

be looked upon as a convincing proof that the ancient Javanese lived under a despotic government, but that the tyranny of the priesthood was not established in the revolting manner in which it prevails in India.

On the subject of religious purity and pollutions, the observances of the Javanese appear not to have been very rigid. In *their Niti Sastra* there is a passage which recommends *to persons of rank* not to eat dogs, rats, snakes, lizards, and caterpillars. The practice of using these disgusting animals as food must have been frequent, or the injunction were unnecessary.

The ancient Javanese believed in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and in that of future rewards and punishments, but of all the practices recommended by the Hindu religion, penances and austerities, and the sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pile of the husband, are those alone which the ancient Javanese seem to have carried to an excess which vied with that of their masters, or rather indeed surpassed it. *

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* A great diversity of religious practice in matters of external ceremony, no doubt, prevailed in the different islands. The sacrifice of the hog, however, an animal which abounds in incredible numbers in every country of the Archipelago, was probably general. The following curious account of a sacrifice of this nature is extracted from Pigafetta.—" Puisque je

viens de parler des idoles, je vais raconter à votre seigneurie quelques-unes de leurs cérémonies superstitieuses, dont l'une est celle de la bénédiction du cochon. On commence cette cérémonie par battre des grandes timballes. On porte ensuite trois grands plats, dont deux sont chargés de poisson rôti et de gâteaux de riz et de millet cuit, enveloppés dans des feuilles; sur l'autre il y a des draps de toile de Cambaie et deux bandes de toile de palmier. On étend par terre un de ces linceuils de toile. Alors viennent deux vieilles femmes, dont chacune tient à la main une grande trompette de roseau. Elles se placent sur le drap, font une salutation au soleil, et s'enveloppent des autres draps de toile qui étoient sur le plat. La première de ces deux vieilles se couvre la tête d'un mouchoir qu'elle lie sur son front, de manière qu'il y forme deux cornes; et prenant un autre mouchoir dans ses mains, elle danse et sonne en même tems de la trompette, en invoquant de tems en tems le soleil. L'autre vieille prend une des bandes de toile de palmier, danse et sonne également de sa trompette, et se tournant vers le soleil lui addresse, quelques mots. La première saisit alors l'autre bande de toile de palmier, jette le mouchoir qu'elle tenoit à la main, et toutes les deux sonnent ensemble de leurs trompettes et dansent longtems autour du cochon qui est lié et couché par terre. Pendant ce tems la première parle toujours d'une voix basse au soleil, tandis que l'autre lui répond. Après cela on présente une tasse de vin à la première, qu'elle prend, sans cesser de danser et de s'addresser au soleil, l'approche quatre ou cinq fois de sa bouche en feignant de vouloir boire, mais elle verse la liqueur sur le cœur du cochon. Elle rend ensuite la tasse, et on lui donne une lance, qu'elle agite, toujours en dansant et parlant et la dirige plusieurs fois contre le cœur du cochon, qu'elle perce à la fin d'outre en outre d'un coup prompt et bien mesuré. Aussitôt qu'elle a retiré la lance de la blessure, on la ferme et on la panse avec des herbes salutaires. Durant toute cette cérémonie il y a un flambeau allumé, que la

vieille qui a percé le cochon prend et met dans sa bouche pour l'éteindre. L'autre vieille trempe dans le sang du cochon le bout de sa trompette dont elle va toucher et ensanglanter le front des assistans, en commençant par celui de son mari ; mais elle ne vint pas à nous. Cela fini les deux vieilles se déshabillent, mangent ce qu'on avoit apporté dans les deux premiers plats et invitent les femmes, et non les hommes, à manger avec elles. On dépile ensuite le cochon au feu. Jamais on ne mange de cet animal qu'il n'ait été auparavant purifié de cette manière, et il n'y a que de vieilles femmes qui puissent faire cette cérémonie."—*Premier Voyage autour du Monde*, p. 113, 114, 115.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION OF BALI.

The Hindu Religion at present nearly confined to the Island of Bali.—The National Religion of Bali is the Worship of Siwa, and a small number of Buddhists only exist.—The Siwais, as in Hindustan, divided into four great Casts.—The Brahmins and Higher Classes genuine Hindus, but the Lower Orders left to practise their local superstitions.—The Brahmins intrusted with the Administration of Justice.—Few Prejudices on the subject of Diet.—No Religious Mendicants, and no practice of painful Austerities.—Sacrifice of the Widow on the Funeral Pile of her Husband, and Immolation of Slaves and Domestics with deceased Princes.—Interesting Quotation from a Dutch Narrative.—Quotation from the Voyage of Cavendish.—Bodies of the Dead Burned.—Two great Religious Festivals.—Balinese have adopted the Indian Era and Kalender.—List of their Religious Books.—The Worship of Siwa when introduced.—Existence of Hinduism in Bali after the conversion of the other Civilized Tribes accounted for.

WITH the partial exception of a few mountaineers in the eastern end of Java, the Hindu religion, as far as I know, has been banished from every country of the Archipelago, except the island of Bali, where it is at present nearly the only form of worship. I visited this is-

land in 1814, and communicated the result of my inquiries concerning its religion, in a paper to the Asiatic Society, which they did me the honour to print in the last volume of their Transactions. The principal matter of that essay I shall now transcribe.

The great body of the Balinese are Hindus of the sect of Siwa, and there are a few Buddhists among them; with the latter I had no communication, and, therefore, it is regarding the former only that I can furnish any precise information. The followers of Siwa in Bali are, as in Western India, divided into four great classes or casts, namely, a priesthood, a soldiery, a mercantile class, and a servile class, respectively called *Brahmana*, *Satriya*, *Wisiya*, and *Sudra*. The following origin of the casts was distinctly stated to me by the Brahmins, without any leading question. "The god Brahma produced the *Brahmana* from his mouth, which imports wisdom,—the *Satriya* from his chest, which imports strength,—the *Wisiya* from the abdomen, which implies that it is his business to furnish subsistence to the society; and the *Sudra* from his feet, which implies, that he is destined to obedience and servitude." The institution of the casts the Balinese term *Chatur-Jalma*. The superior classes may take concubines from the lower, but the opposite practice is strictly interdicted. The offspring of such unions form, as in

Continental India, a variety of new casts. A legal marriage, however, can only be contracted between persons of the same cast, so that the four great classes are thus preserved distinct. There exists a class of outcasts, called by the Indian name *Chandala;* they are held impure, and being excluded from associating with their fellow subjects, they occupy the outskirts of the villages. Potters, dyers, dealers in leather, distillers, and dealers in ardent spirits, are of this order.

The Brahmins of Bali may be considered genuine Hindus, but in general the people are left to their local superstitions, consisting of the worship of personifications of the elements, and of the most striking natural objects which surround them. The deity thus created, ranks in proportion to his supposed power, and the importance of the duties assigned to him. Every nation in Bali has its peculiar tutelary god, and the villages, mountains, forests, and rivers, have their respective guardians. To these deities rude temples are constructed, in which the lower orders, usually *Wisiyas* and *Sudras*, and *never* Brahmins, officiate as priests. These persons so officiating are called *Mămangku* or guardians. The Brahmans declared to me that *they* worshipped no idol whatever, not even those of the Hindu mythology. In the part of Bali which I visited, although temples were numerous, there certainly were none dedicated to pure Hin-

duism. Such, however, I am informed, do exist in other parts of the island.

The Brahmins are treated with great respect, and contrary to the practice of India, which places the magistracy in the hands of the military class, are entrusted with the administration of justice, civil and criminal. The princes and chiefs are usually of the military order, but this is not invariable, for the princes of the family of *Karangasam*, the most powerful in the island, and who, of late years, conquered the neighbouring Mahamedan island of Lombok, are of the mercantile order, a fact which shows, that the institution of the casts is not tenaciously adhered to.

The Brahmans, in external appearance, are easily distinguished from the inferior classes, for the former wear the hair long, and tie it in a knot at the back of the head, as in India, while the latter invariably crop it short; neither they, however, nor the other *twice-born* casts, wear the *distinguishing thread* of the superior orders. In conformity to their profession of being sectaries of Siwa, the Balinese pay their principal adoration to Mahadewa, whom they generally designate *Prama Siwa*, or the Lord Siwa, but he is known to them also by many of the epithets under which he is recognized in India, such as *Kala*, *Anta-pati*, *Nilakanta*, *Jagat-nata*, &c. In their solemn invocations, the Balinese frequently prefix to his

name the sacred triliteral syllable *aum*, pronounced by them *ong*, as in the expression *ong Siwa Chatur-baja*, "adoration to Siwa with the four arms." I did not observe that the Balinese made, like the Hindus, any scruple to pronounce this sacred and mystical syllable.

The perpetual and tiresome routine of ceremonies practised by the genuine Hindu are generally, as far as I could discover, neglected by the Balinese; and the strange and wanton prejudices on the subject of food are paid little regard to by the body of the people, who *eat beef without scruple*, and among whom the *domestic fowl* and hog afford the most favourite articles of diet. The Brahmins are more scrupulous, and abstain from every species of animal food, confining themselves to what is barely vegetable; some of the more meritorious even restrict themselves to roots and fruits.

In Bali I could discover no religious mendicants. In a fruitful soil, understocked with inhabitants, and where the priesthood possess valuable temporal authority, there is less occasion to seek for spiritual distinction. Those whimsical and extravagant acts of self-mortification which have made the Hindu devotee so famous, are unknown to the Ascetics of Bali, whose severest penances consist of—abstinence from some descrip-

tions of food,—seclusion from the society of mankind in caves and forests,—and sometimes, but not very frequently, in celibacy.

Of the Hindu customs which obtain among the Balinese, the only one of which the certainty has been long ascertained among foreigners, is the sacrifice of the widow on the funeral pile of the husband. In Bali this practice is carried to an excess unknown even to India itself. When a wife offers herself, the sacrifice is termed *Satya*; when a concubine, slave, or other domestic, *Bela*, or retaliation. A woman of any cast may sacrifice herself in this manner, but it is most frequent with those of the military and mercantile classes. It very seldom happens that a woman of the servile class thus sacrifices herself; and, what is more extraordinary, one of the sacred order *never* does. The sacrifice is confined, as far as I could learn, to the occasion of the death of princes and persons of high rank. Perhaps the most remarkable circumstance connected with these sacrifices in Bali is the incredible number of persons who devote themselves. The Raja of *Blelling* stated to me, that, when the body of his father, the chief of the family of *Karangasam*, was burnt, seventy-four women sacrificed themselves along with it. In the year 1813 twenty women sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile of *Wayahan Jălantĕg*,

another prince of the same family. I am satisfied, from the conversations which I held on this subject with some Mahomedans of Bali, whom I met in Java, that no compulsion is used on these occasions, but abundance of over-persuasion and delusion.

From some circumstances connected with this strange custom, I am strongly inclined to believe that it was not entirely of foreign origin, but an original custom of the Indian islanders modified by the Hindus. The practice of sacrificing the living in honour of the dead, it must be recollected, is not an arbitrary institution of Hindustan, but has been found to obtain in other parts of the world where priestcraft or despotism have assumed an early empire. The sacrifice, it may be observed, is performed, only in honour of a chief;—his female domestics in numbers sacrifice themselves as well as his wives;—and the genuine name of the Hindu sacrifice is confined to the former, while the name of the latter is a native term implying *retaliation* or *retribution*, in strict conformity with one of the most prevailing sentiments of the human mind in the earliest stages of social existence. A similar institution, under a similar name, prevailed in Java before the conversion, and I have no doubt that one parallel to that of the Natchez of America prevailed, very generally, in

the Indian islands, wherever arbitrary and despotic authority was fully established. *

Pigafetta gives us the following singular account of a funeral ceremony at Zebu, one of the Philippines, which, in the progress of despotism, may be readily supposed to assume the form of the horrid ceremony practised by the people of Bali. " A la mort d'un de leurs chefs on fait également des cérémonies singulières, ainsi que j'en ai été le témoin. Les femmes les plus considérées du pays se rendirent à la maison du mort, au milieu de laquelle le cadavre étoit placé dans une caisse, autour de laquelle on tendit des cordes pour former une espéce d'enceinte. On attacha à ces cordes des branches d'arbres; et au milieu de ces branches on suspendit des draps de coton en forme de pavillon. C'est sous ces pavillons que s'assirent les femmes dont je viens de parler couvertes d'un drap blanc. Chaque femme avoit une suivante, qui la refraichissoit avec un éventail de palmier. Les autres femmes étoient assises d'un air triste tout autour de la chambre. Il y en avoit une parmi elles qui avec un couteau coupa peu à peu les cheveux du mort. Une autre, qui en avoit été la femme principale (car quoiqu'un homme puisse avoir autant de femmes qu'il lui plait, une seule est la principale,) s'étendit sur lui de façon qu'elle avoit sa bouche, ses mains et ses pieds, sur sa bouche, sur ses mains et sur ses pieds. Tandis que la première coupoit les cheveau, celle-ci pleroit; et elle chantoit quand la première s'arrêtoit. Tout autour de la chambre il y avoit plusieurs vases de porcelaine remplis de feu, où l'on jetoit de tems en tems de la myrrhe, du storax et du benjoin, que répandoient une odeur fort agréable. Ces cérémonies continuent cinq à six jours, pendant lesquels le mort ne sort pas de la maison; je crois qu'on a soin de l'embaumer avec du camphre pour le

In the year 1633, four years after the last attack on Batavia by the sultan of Mataram, the Dutch, dreading a renewal of hostilities on the part of that prince, sent a mission to the island of Bali to request the assistance of the prince of *Gelgel,* who appears at that time to have been sole sovereign of the island. The manuscript account of this mission has been translated by Mons. Prevost, and affords an interesting and most curious account of the funeral ceremonies of the Balinese princes. The ambassadors found the king in the deepest affliction on account of the death of his two eldest sons, and the dangerous illness of his queen, who, in fact, also died soon after their arrival. No business could be transacted until after that princess's funeral, which the king, according to the Dutch statement, gave orders, in compliment to the Europeans, should take place in eight days, although, in conformity to ancient usage, the ceremony ought not to have taken place earlier than a month and seven days after death. The Dutch narrative proceeds as follows. "The same day, about noon, the queen's body was burnt without the city, with two and twenty of her female slaves; and we consider ourselves bound to render

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préserver de la putréfaction. On l'enterre enfin dans le même caisse, qu'on ferme avec des chevilles de bois, dans le cimetière qui est un endroit enclos et couvert d'ais."—P. 115, 116.

an exact account of the barbarous ceremonies practised in this place on such occasions as we were eye-witnesses to. The body was drawn out of a large aperture made in the wall to the right hand side of the door, in the absurd opinion of *cheating the devil*, whom these islanders believe to lie in wait in the ordinary passage.* The female slaves destined to accompany the dead went before, according to their ranks, those of lowest rank taking the lead, each supported from behind by an old woman, and carried on a *Badi*, skilfully constructed of bamboos, and decked all over with flowers.† There were placed before, a roasted pig, some rice, some *betel*, and other fruits, as an offering to their gods, and these unhappy victims of the most direful idolatry are thus carried in triumph, to the sound of different instruments, to the place where they are to be in the sequel poigniarded and consumed by fire. Each there found a particular scaffold prepared for her, nearly in the form of a trough, raised upon four short posts, and edged on two sides with planks. After moving three

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* It is almost unnecessary to say, that this cannot have been the true account of the superstitious practice in question. Early European voyagers are in the constant habit of obtruding their own mythological opinions upon us as those of the natives.

† The Badi is a kind of litter.

times round in a circle, at the same pace at which they arrived, and still sitting in their litters, they were forthwith taken out of their vehicles, one after another, in order to be placed in the troughs. Presently five men, and one or two women, approached them, pulling off all the flowers with which they were adorned, while, at each occasion, holding their joined hands above their heads, they raised the pieces of the offering which the other women posted behind, laid hold of, and threw upon the ground, as well as the flowers. Some of the attendants set loose a pigeon or a fowl, to mark by that that their soul was on the point of taking its flight to the mansions of the blessed.

"At this last signal they were divested of all their garments, except their sashes; and four of the men seizing the victim, two by the arms, which they held out extended, and two by the feet, the victim standing, the fifth prepared himself for the execution, the whole being done without covering the eyes.

"Some of the most courageous demanded the poignard themselves, which they received in the right hand, passing it into the left, after respectfully kissing the weapon. They wounded their right arms, sucked the blood which flowed from the wound, and stained their lips with it, making with the point of the finger a bloody mark on the forehead. Then returning the dagger to their ex-

ecutioners, they received a first stab between the false ribs, and a second, from the same side, under the shoulder blade, the weapon being thrust up to the hilt, in a slanting direction, towards the heart. As soon as the horrors of death were visible in the countenance, without a complaint escaping them, they were permitted to fall prone on the ground, their limbs were pulled from behind, and they were stripped of the last remnant of their dress, so that they were left in a state of perfect nakedness.

"The executioners receive, as their reward, two hundred and fifty pieces of copper money, of about the value of five sols each. The nearest relations, if they be present, or persons hired for the occasion if they are not come, after the execution, and wash the bloody bodies, and having sufficiently cleaned them, they cover them with wood in such a manner, that the head only is visible, and, having applied fire to the pile, they are consumed to ashes.

"The women were already poignarded, and the greater number of them in flames, before the dead body of the queen arrived, borne on a superb *Bàdi*, of a pyramidal form, consisting of eleven steps, and supported by a number of persons proportioned to the rank of the deceased. At each side of the body were seated two women, one holding an umbrella, and the other a flapper of horse-hair, to drive away the insects. Two priests

preceded the *Badi*, in vehicles of a particular form, holding each in one hand a cord attached to the Badi, as if giving to understand that they led the deceased to heaven, and ringing in the other a little bell, while such a noise of *gongs*, tabours, flutes, and other instruments, is made, that the whole ceremony has less the air of a funeral procession than of a joyous village festival.

"When the dead body had passed the funeral piles arranged in its route, it was placed upon its own, which was forthwith lighted, while the chair, couch, &c. used by the deceased in her lifetime, were also burnt. The assistants then regaled themselves with a feast, while the musicians, without cessation, struck the ear with a tumultuous melody, not unpleasing. This continues until evening, when the bodies being consumed, the relatives and chiefs return home, leaving a guard for the protection of the bones. On this occasion the bones of the queen only were preserved, the rest having been gathered up and thrown away.

"On the following day the bones of the queen were carried back to her former habitation, with a ceremony equal in pomp to that of the preceding day, and here the following forms were observed. Every day a number of vessels of silver, brass, and earth, filled with water, accompanied by a band of musicians and pikemen, are carried thither. Those who bear them are preceded by two young boys carrying green boughs, marching

before others carrying—the mirror,—the vest,—the loose garment,—the *betel-box*, and other conveniences of the deceased. The bones are devoutly washed during a month and seven days, after which, being placed in a convenient litter, they are conveyed by the same retinue as was the body, to a place called *Labee*, where they are entirely burnt, and the ashes carefully collected in urns, and cast into the sea at a certain distance from the beach, which terminates the ceremony.

"When a prince or a princess of the royal family dies, their women or slaves run round the body, uttering cries and frightful howlings, and all eagerly solicit to die for their master or mistress. The king, on the following day, designates, one by one, those of whom he makes choice. From that moment, to the last of their lives, they are daily conducted, at an early hour, each in her vehicle, to the sound of musical instruments, without the town, to perform their devotions, having their feet wrapped in white linen, for it is no more permitted to them to touch the bare earth, because they are considered as consecrated. The young women, little skilled in these religious exercises, are instructed in them by the aged women, who accompany them, and who, at the same time, confirm them in their resolution.

"A woman, on the demise of her husband, appears daily before the corpse, offering it viands,

but seeing that it will not partake, she resumes, at each time, the usual lamentations, carrying her affliction so far for three or four days, as to kiss the body, and bathe it all over with her tears. This mourning, however, only lasts until the evening before the funeral rites. Those who have devoted themselves, are made to pass that night in continual dancing and rejoicing, without being permitted to close an eye. All pains are taken to give them whatever tends to the gratification of their senses, and from the quantity of wine which they take, few objects are capable of terrifying their imaginations. Besides, they are inflamed by the promises of their priests, and their mistaken notions of the joys of another state of existence.

"No woman or slave, however, is obliged to follow this barbarous custom. Yet, even those who have desired to submit to it, and have not been accepted, as well as those who have not offered themselves, are alike shut up for the remainder of their lives, in a convent, without being permitted the sight of man. If any one should find means to escape from her prison, and is afterwards taken, her fate is instantly decided; she is poignarded,---dragged through the streets,---and her body cast to the dogs to be devoured, the most ignominious form of inflicting death in that country.

"At the funeral of the king's two sons who died

a short time before, forty-two women of the one, and thirty-four of the other, were poignarded and burnt in the manner above described; but on such occasions the princesses of royal blood leap themselves at once into the flames, as did at this particular time the principal wives of the princes in question, because they would look upon themselves as dishonoured by any one's laying hands on their persons. For this purpose a kind of bridge is erected over the burning pile, which they mount, holding in their hand a paper close to their foreheads, and having their robe tucked up under their arm. As soon as they feel the heat, they precipitate themselves into the burning pit, which is surrounded by a palisade of coco-nut stems. In case their firmness should abandon them at the appalling sight, a brother, or other near relative, is at hand to push them in, and render them, out of affection, that cruel office.

"We were informed, that the first wife of the younger of the two princes just alluded to, who was daughter to the king's sister, asked her father, who was prince of Couta, whether, as she was but three months married, and on account of her extreme youth, she ought to devote herself on the funeral pile of her deceased husband. Her father, less alive to the voice of nature than to the prejudices of his nation, represented to her so strongly the disgrace she would, by preferring to liv-

bring upon herself and all her family, that the unfortunate young woman, summoning all her courage, gaily leapt into the flames, which were already devouring the dead body of her husband.

"On the death of the reigning king, the whole of his wives and concubines, sometimes to the number of a hundred, or a hundred and fifty, devote themselves to the flames. None of them are previously poignarded, a distinction confined to this occasion. As they are at such a time permitted to walk without restraint, it happened, at the funeral of the late king of Bali, that one of his women, as she was preparing to follow the example of her companions, lost her courage at sight of the dreadful preparations. She had sufficient presence of mind, in approaching the bridge, to ask leave to withdraw for a moment on some common pretext, which being granted without any suspicion, she betook herself to flight with all possible speed. The singularity of the circumstance, rather than any motive of compassion, saved her life, and gave her her freedom. We were assured that she came daily to the public market to sell provisions, but that she was regarded by all persons of rank with the last degree of contempt, though custom had taught her to bear with the most cruel raillery.

"Another object of contempt among this people, and for a reason sufficiently singular, is the female

slave to whose lot it falls to wash the dead body of her mistress, during the month and seven days before the funeral rites. It is, in fact, for the performance of this task that her life is saved, and liberty afterwards given to her to retire where she pleases into the country, to earn her livelihood.

"To obviate the infection which would otherwise be generated by preserving the dead bodies so long in a climate of such excessive heat, they are obliged daily to rub them with salt, and with pepper, and other aromatics, so that they fall away to mere skin and bone. Afterwards these drugs, which form a coat of four or five inches thick, are washed off, and it is in this state that the bodies are burnt. The coffin, which contains the body, is perforated at the bottom, to permit the animal fluids to run off, and these are received into a vessel, which is daily emptied with much ceremony."*

The province of *Blambangan*, composing the eastern extremity of Java, was, down to very late years, subject to the Balinese, and chiefly inhabited by that people. Cavendish, in his circumnavigation of the globe, passed through the straits between Java and Bali, touching at the former island. Purchas gives the following curious

* Histoire General des Voyages, Tom. XVII. p. 52, *et sequent.*

account of the ceremony alluded to in the text, as received by Cavendish and his companions from the Portuguese:—" The custome of the countrey is, that whensoeuer the king doth die, they take the body so dead, and burne it, and preserue the ashes of him, and within fiue dayes next after, the wiues of the said king so dead, according to the custome and vse of their countrey; euery one of them goe together to a place appointed, and the chiefe of the women, which was nearest vnto him in accompt, hath a ball in her hand, and throweth it from her, and to the place where the ball resteth, thither they goe all, and turn their faces to the eastward, and euery one, with a dagger in their hand, (which dagger they call a *crise,* and is as sharpe as a razor,) stab themselues to the heart, and with their hands all to bebathe themselves in their owne blood, and falling grouelling on their faces, so ende their dayes. This thing is as true, as it seemeth to any hearer to be strange." *

* Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. I. B. 2. p. 68.

The testimony of Pigafetta confirms the existence of the practice in Java. " On nous dit que c'est l'usage à Java de brûler les corps des principaux qui meurent; et que la femme qu'il aimoit le plus est distinée à être brûlées toute vivante dans le meme feu. Ornée de guirlandes de fleurs, elle se fait porter par quatre hommes sur un siége par toute la ville, et d'un air riant et tranquille elle console ses parens qui pleurent sa mort prochaine en leur disant: 'Je vais ce soir souper avec

I had written my account of the funeral rites of the Balinese princes, before reading either the narrative of the Dutch envoys, or the above passage in Purchas, and I have since made no alteration, that the reader may have an opportunity of comparing it with those earlier accounts, and drawing his own conclusions.

The Hindus of Bali, like those of India, burn the bodies of their dead; but differ from the latter in this singular particular, that they keep the dead body for an extraordinary length of time previous to consuming it. The bodies of persons of the lowest condition are usually kept for several weeks, and those of persons of rank often for a year, nay sometimes even for two. A fortunate day must be determined upon by the Brahmins for burning the body, and, during the interval, it is embalmed and preserved in an apartment for the purpose.

The Balinese have two great religious festivals, followed the one by the other at an interval of ten days, and repeated twice a-year. The first, in point of time, is called *Galungan*, and is of five

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mon mari, et cette nuit je coucherai avec lui. Arrivée au bucher elle les console de nouveau par les même discours, et se jette dans les flammes qui la devorent. Si elle s'y refusoit, elle ne seroit plus regardée comme une femme honnête, ni comme une bonne epouse.' " French translation from the original manuscript, p. 217.

days duration; the second *Kuningan*, and is of two days duration. These festivals occur in December and June, or at the winter and summer solstices, the first when the great rice crop is sown, and the second when it is reaped. They are dedicated to the worship of the gods, to festivity and rejoicing. All serious occupation is interrupted, and even war, at all other times carried on with the relentless ferocity common to barbarians, is held unlawful during the celebration of these festivals. From the seasons at which they occur, and the native names by which they are designated, I am inclined to consider them as native rather than foreign institutions, or perhaps at furthest, but as modified by the Hindus.

The Balinese have generally adopted the Indian chronology, and the era of Salivana, which they call *Saka warsa chandra.*

Besides the works current among the ancient Javanese, and of which an account is given under the head of Literature, the Balinese Brahmins of the worship of Siwa supplied me with the following list of works, containing the peculiar doctrines of their own sect. *Agama—Adigama—Sursamuschayagama—Dewagama—Maiswaralatwa—Wiyawaraha—Dustakalabaya—Slokantaragama—Satmagama, and Gamiyagamana.* They complained of the loss of other religious works, and

made anxious inquiry respecting their existence in India.

The religion of Siwa was introduced in Bali between three and four hundred years ago, previous to which the reigning religion was Buddhism. The following is the account of this revolution furnished to me by the Brahmins themselves. A few years previous to the Mahomedan conversion of the Javanese, there arrived in Java, from *Kalinga*, a number of Brahmins, of the sect of Siwa, who received protection from Browijoyo, the last Hindu sovereign of Mojopahit. Soon after the overthrow of that state, they fled to Bali under their leader *Wahu Bahu*, and there disseminated their doctrines. The present generation are, by their own account, the tenth in descent from *Wahu Bahu* and his companions.

The fact of the Hindu religion existing in the little island of Bali, after the conversion to Mahomedanism, appears at first sight singular. This phenomenon is to be ascribed to a variety of circumstances, such as hostility to the Mahomedan religion, on the part of the Hindu refugees from Java, who are known, when persecuted, to have fled to Bali in considerable numbers,—the adoption of another new religion on the part of the Balinese, but probably, above all, the inaccessibility of the shores of Bali, the only civilized and populous country of the Archipelago, destitute of

harbours, and even of tolerably safe anchoring ground. This has kept away the Mahomedan merchants, by whose means *Islam* was propagated in the other countries of the Archipelago. At present the Balinese, without hating the Mahomedan religion, or persecuting its followers, show no small degree of jealousy of it.

CHAPTER III.

CHARACTER OF MAHOMEDANISM IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

Indian Islanders throughout are of the orthodox creed, following almost invariably the doctrines of Shafihi.—The doctrines of the Imams have never found their way into the Archipelago.—Malays considered among their neighbours the best Mahomedans.—In religious sentiment all the tribes are liberal and tolerant.—State of Mahomedanism in Java.—The Mahomedan Festivals of Java modifications of the ancient Hindu ones. A Mahomedan Festival in Java described.—Javanese Priests, their duties and offices.—Lower orders of the Indian Islanders singularly inattentive both to the positive and negative precepts of the Koran.—Anecdotes in illustration of this.

THE Indian islanders first received the religion of Mahomed from the orthodox land of Arabia, and the flame has been kept alive by the intercourse which has since subsisted with that country. All the tribes and nations of the Archipelago are, therefore, necessarily, nominally of the orthodox faith. Of *the four* great divisions of Mahome-

danism, deemed equally orthodox, the Indian islanders, with minute exceptions not worth mentioning, are followers of the doctrines of Shafihi, the prevalent doctrines of Arabia,* and particularly of the maritime portions of that country, from whence proceeded the first apostles of Islam to the Indian islands.

Among the Indian islanders there are no sectaries of any description. The doctrines of the Imams, or of those who believe in the divinity of Ali, have not found their way thither, and the few Malays who visit Siam alone have an opportunity of seeing a few straggling *Shiahs* or *Rafzi*, as they call them, in that country.

The Malayan tribes have the reputation of being the most exemplary Mahomedans of the Archipelago. On essential points they are sufficiently strict without being intolerant. Their superior instruction is owing to their longer and more intimate intercourse with their masters the Arabs, and the Mahomedans of the Eastern coast of India; and their liberality is to be ascribed to their extensive intercourse with men of various religious persuasions, with Hindus, Buddhists of farther India, Chinese, Christians, and Pagans of their own country. To

* Sale's Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of the Alcoran.

the *positive* precepts of the Koran, viz. attention to festivals,—fasting,—prayer,—attendance at the mosque,—and performance of the pilgrimage, they are sufficiently attentive, but their violation of some of its negative precepts, as stated in another place, is open and flagrant: they are the greatest of gamblers, and the most determined consumers of intoxicating drugs.

The state of Mahomedanism in Java differs widely from that among the maritime and commercial tribes, and will demand a more particular account. Of all Mahomedans the Javanese are the most lax in their principles and practice, a singularity to be ascribed to their little intercourse with foreign Mahomedans, occasioned by the exclusion of the Arabs in particular, through the commercial jealousy of the Dutch, during a period of two hundred years. It will be necessary to furnish the reader with a review of the conduct of the Javanese in the various duties of a Mahomedan.

The Javanese, like the Arabs, keep the two regular festivals prescribed by the Koran, the *Id ul Fetre*, and the *Id ul Kurban*. To these they add a third and fourth; one in honour of ancestors, already mentioned, and a festival on the 12th of the month of *Rabbi ul awal*, the alleged anniversary of the birth and death of *the prophet*. The first of these two is evidently a relic of their ancient superstitions, and the last was instituted, I

imagine, to supply the place of the ancient Hindu festivals, called in these countries the *Gahungan* and *Kuningan*, which divided the year into two equal parts, and which in a civil, as well as religious view, were considered as important seasons, for then the public revenue was paid, and all contracts concluded. The institution of this festival was, in all probability, a discreet concession made to the Javanese by the first Mahomedan missionaries. The festival of the nativity or *Maulud*, and that which succeeds the *Ramzan* or Mahomedan lent, on the first of *Shawal*, called *rather ambiguously* by the Hindu name of *Puwasa*, or *the fast*, divide the year into nearly equal portions, and are now the principal festivals of the Javanese; it is then that the public revenue is paid and all contracts made.

Except *the festival in honour of ancestors*, the others are celebrated in the same way, and are considered rather as occasions of rejoicing and festivity, than of the performance of prayer and religious duty. A description of them, as exhibited at the courts of the native princes, may gratify curiosity, while it affords a new and unexpected picture of eastern customs and manners. Previous to these great festivals, the governors of provinces and other chiefs, with a numerous concourse of retainers and followers, repair to court. At an early hour of the morning of the festival, each, accompanied by his peo-

ple, fully armed, attend in their *gala* dresses, and, preceded by drums and music, proceed to the great square of the palace, and hold themselves in readiness to appear at an appointed hour in the presence. Every part of the ceremony puts Mahomedan decorum at defiance. About the hour of ten the monarch makes his appearance in the idolatrous garb of his ancestors, decorated with ponderous golden bracelets, armlets, and finger rings rich with diamonds. The procession which attends him consists of persons whimsically dressed in the ancient costume of Java, and a great number are women, in contempt of the usual fastidiousness of Mahomedan nations. The most conspicuous of the group are the handsomest of the concubines of the prince himself, bearing the ancient regalia of a Javanese monarch, of which the most remarkably in contrast to Mahomedan precept, are the golden figures of a *naga* or snake,—of an animal of the goose kind,—and of a deer. Some of the more aged women appear in the procession with arms in their feeble hands. In the native language these last are called *Langăn-astra*, or *Langăn-kusuma*, which imply, as much as, *soldiers in play or jest*, terms sufficiently descriptive of their office. Such a whimsical anomaly in oriental manners, had probably its origin in no better foundation than the absurd and playful caprice of some ancient despot.

The prince arriving at the *Sitingil*, or *terrace of*

ceremonies, takes his seat on the throne, the chiefs of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, squatting on the bare ground, the heir to the throne only being, when in high favour, admitted to a seat of *some little distinction.* The troops of all descriptions, whether those of the household or the rabble militia of the provinces, then pass before the prince in review, moving mostly according to the manners of the country in a strutting or dancing attitude, and exhibiting costumes the most grotesque and ludicrous than can well be imagined. Some appear in the ancient dress,—others in the more modern garb of the country, and these to an European are the most becoming; others superadd some of the more antiquated portions of the *costume of Holland.* The absurd solemnity of some of the figures, and the extravagant and wild gestures of others, afford to a stranger a trial too severe for the most determined gravity.

The public charity to be distributed in conformity to the institutions of Mahomed, is now displayed in slow procession, to the sound of a hundred bands of native music. It consists of dressed food, chiefly rice, piled up into a conical mass of four or five feet high, tastefully decorated with flowers, and each mass supported on a separate litter, borne along by porters dressed for the occasion. From their shape and size, and still more because they are thought to be emblematic of the

bounty of the sovereign, these masses of food are emphatically and figuratively denominated "mountains." After being duly exhibited in procession, they are carried to the houses of the nobles of rank, according to their size and qualities, and, being thrown down in their court-yards, there ensues among the retainers of the chiefs an indecent but amicable scramble for them.

That portion of the festivities of the day which have their origin in the connection with the European authority, are not the least remarkable, or least at variance with the duties of good Musselmans. No sooner is the injunction of the Koran, the distribution of charity complied with, than *wine* is served, and half a dozen bumpers are quaffed off by the Mahomedan monarch and his subjects, to the health of their European allies and themselves. The evening, by long established custom, is passed at the residency of the European chief, where may be seen every year the strange spectacle of a Mussulman prince and his court celebrating the *festival of the sacrifice*, or commemorating the death and nativity of *the Prophet*, by a Bacchanalian feast in the house of a Christian! *

* The author has often had the honour of entertaining his Highness the Sultan of Java on such occasions.

In most of the Mahomedan institutions of the Javanese, we discover marks of Hinduism. The institutions of the latter have in reality been rather modified and built upon than destroyed, and in viewing them, we cannot withhold the tribute of our applause to the discreet and artful conduct of the first Mahomedan teachers, whose temperate zeal is always marked by a politic and wise forbearance. The present priests of Java are the successors in office, and almost in duty, to the priest and astrologer of the Hindu village. The latter were entitled to a small share of the crop, and the same, under the legitimate Arabic name of *Zăkat*, or alms, is now paid to the Mahomedan priests. This, which ought by law to be a tithe, is but a 25th *of the staple crop*, and, by the frugal piety of the donor, who selects for his spiritual guide the smallest sheaf, often still less. The contribution is, indeed, strictly eleemosynary, but usage, prescription, and superstition, render the payment more imperious and punctual than any municipal law could render it. This, with fees at marriages and funerals, and small gifts at festivals, constitute the incomes of the Javanese priests, who are a peaceful, contented, and respectable portion of the Javanese peasantry, living in terms of perfect equality with the ordinary cultivators.

Neither the prayers nor the fastings of the In-

dian islanders, commonly speaking, are very rigid. The lower orders know little, and care less, about these matters.* Such is the ignorance or carelessness of some of them in Java, of which I can personally speak, that they do not even know the name of the Prophet whose religion they profess to follow. Once when presiding in the Resident's court at Samarang, a peasant was about to give evidence on oath, when I directed him to be interrogated on the nature and obligations of the oath he was about to take. It came out that he had never heard the name of Mahomed, and,

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* "The religion of these people is Mahomedanism, *Friday* is their Sabbath, but I did never see any difference that they make between this day and any other day, only the Sultan himself goes then to the mosque twice. *Laja Laut* never goes to the mosque, but prays at certain hours, eight or ten times in a day; wherever he is, he is very punctual to his canonical hours, and if he be on board, will go ashore on purpose to pray, for no business or company hinders him from this duty. Whether he is at home, or abroad,—in the house, or in a field, he leaves all his company, and goes about 100 yards off, and then kneels down to his devotion. He first kisses the ground, then prays aloud, and divers times in his prayers he kisses the ground, and does the same when he leaves off. *His servants and wives and his children talk and sing, or play how they please all the time,* but himself is very serious. *The meaner sort of people have little devotion; I did never see any of them at their prayers, or go into a mosque.*" —Dampier's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 338.

when urged upon the subject, he pronounced with great simplicity the name of his village priest! The lower orders even display a most singular levity upon these points. In the vicinity of the town of *Yugyakarta*, I met one evening a band of labourers returning from their work, and their extraordinary amusement was as follows: One of the party was repeating a verse of the Koran, which he had somehow acquired, and mimicking a preacher of their acquaintance. When he had done, the rest applauded him by a loud shout, and a convulsive roar of laughter. He again repeated the verse, and received the same approbation, and this was their diversion as they passed on to their houses. I do not quote these cases as extraordinary examples, but as a true picture of the popular feeling on the subject of religion. I do not mean, in general, to assert, that, in matters of religion, the Javanese are incapable of conducting themselves with decorum, but certainly there is neither bigotry nor austerity in their religious belief, and most frequently it has not much solemnity, and hardly ever any austerity.

Some of the higher classes, *now and then*, pay a more sober and decent regard to the exterior observances of religion, but it is not very general, and it is never severe. The late sultan of *Yugyakarta*, who was a chief of a most kind and humane disposition, used frequently to apprize me as a joke,

that his mother had gone to the mosque to pray for herself and *for him too*,—that he did not yet trouble himself with matters of this sort,—that it was time enough, and—that he would be more attentive as he grew older.

The pilgrimage to Mecca is frequently undertaken by the Javanese, and all the other Mahomedan tribes, less on account of piety, than on account of the distinctions and immunities which the reputation of the pilgrimage confers among a simple and untaught people. As, however, an extensive intercourse with the world, where there are no fixed principles of morality, and no education, more frequently produces depravity and cunning than improvement or wisdom—the islanders often return worse subjects than they went away, and have been accused of misleading the people, and of being the most active agents in insurrection and rebellion.

The disregard of *the Javanese*, and of many other of the Mahomedan tribes of the Archipelago, for the negative precepts of the Koran, is open and avowed. They entertain an universal passion for intoxicating drugs. They consume not less annually than eighty thousand pounds of opium. Although they are no drunkards, all classes partake of spirituous liquors, or wine, without reserve, when it comes in their way. Among the native chiefs of highest rank, I re-

member but three examples of persons refraining from the open use of wine.*

To the prohibition against games of chance they pay no regard on earth. They are passionately fond of gaming, and give way to this propensity without restriction or reserve.

* "Then putting on the roll upon my head, I sat down in the king's (of Achin) presence, who drank to me in *aquavitæ*, and made me drink of many strange meats."—Davis' Voyage in Purchas, Vol. I. p, 120.—"Puis il (the king of Achin) me fit donner à boire dans un petit gobelet d'or, porté dans un grand bassin du meme metail, par un eneuque; par le moyen du Sabandar. Je beus à la santé de sa grandeur, luy souhaittant meillure, en bref qu'elle n'estoit de present, et pensant vuider ce petit gobelet, la force du breuvage me le fit bien-tost quitter, et pensois avoir beu du feu, en sorte qu'il me prit une grande sueur: Il me dit qu'il falloit achever puisque j'avois beu à sa santé, et qu'il estoit bien marry, de ne pouvoir boire à celle du Roy de France, et qu'il vuideroit tout."—Beaulieu's Voyage, in the collection of Melchizedec Theremot, Vol. I. p. 54.—"This rice drink is made of rice boiled, and put into a jar, where it remains a long time steeping in water. I know not the manner of making it, but it is a very strong and pleasant drink. The evening when the general (brother of the sultan of Majindanao) designed to be merry, he caused a jar of this drink to be brought into our room, and he began to drink first himself, then afterwards his men, so they took turns till they were all *as drunk as swine*, before they suffered us to drink. After they had enough, then we drank, and they drank no more, for they will not drink after us. The *General* leapt about our room for a little while, but having his load, soon went to sleep."—Dampier, Vol. I. p. 369.

The inhibition of usury is as little regarded as the last. The rate of interest for a loan is frequently inserted in their written contracts, and the amount sued for as openly and avowedly as any other debt whatever.

The only negative precept of the Koran by which the Javanese can be said strictly to abide, is the prohibition against eating the flesh of hogs, the one which presents no temptations. How readily men are led to make such easy sacrifices may be inferred from a singular relic of Hinduism in Java, now confined to the royal family, an abstinence from the flesh of the cow. I have seen many of the princes in a state of inebriety from wine at a solemn religious festival, who most *piously* abstained from touching beef.

CHAPTER IV.

STATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

Catholic and Protestant Christians found.—Zeal of the early European Adventurers to make Proselytes.—Circumstances which frustrated the effects of that zeal.—None of the more thoroughly converted to Mahomedanism adopted Christianity.—A rational religion cannot be established until the People are more Civilized.—Superiority of the Christians over the Mahomedan and Pagan Tribes, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which they labour.—Christianity considered as an Instrument of Civilization.—Efforts of insulated Missionaries useless or mischievous.—Circumstances which have contributed to bring Christianity into disrepute among the Indian Islanders, and their neighbours.—The misconduct of Christians the only obstacle to the Propagation of Christianity.

DID the nature of this work admit of it, the present chapter might be extended to a great length. As it is not, however, the object to enter into any details, a very few pages will comprehend every remark that can interest the liberal and enlightened reader.

The *Christian religion*, as a prevailing worship, can only be said to exist in the Spice Islands and the Philippines. In the latter, the converted natives are *nominally* Catholics, and in the former *nominally* Protestants.

To describe the particular modifications of religious practice induced by local superstitions, would be equally impossible and unprofitable. Valentyn assures us that the Christianity of some of the tribes of the Moluccas, consisted in having a little baptismal water sprinkled upon them, and being able to answer by rote half a dozen common questions, which they did not understand. They were Christians one day, and Mahomedans equally sincere another. This gentleman, a clergyman of the reformed church, argued with the chiefs of one place on the necessity of taking some active means for extirpating certain *heathenish* practices. His arguments produced no influence on the minds of the chiefs, who were convinced of the *utility* of the practices in question. "If," said they, "for example, in a trial, the evidence is so equally balanced that we are at a loss to decide, and pass no sentence, the people will murder each other. To avert this, we must pronounce in favour of him who can *continue longest under water*." *

* This is the most usual form, among the Indian islanders, of appealing to the *judgment of God*.—Valentyn, Deel I.

Both the Portuguese and Dutch supported schools in the Moluccas for religious instruction, and an allowance of rice was given to the students, which appears to have been the great inducement to frequent them, from whence it is that the Dutch often ludicrously denominate the native converts *rice Christians*. Valentyn quotes one case in which the reduction of the usual supply was the cause of dispersing all the students; and another, more favourable to the native character, in which the scholars absented themselves, because the preacher spoke bad and unintelligible Malay to them!

The Portuguese and Spanish adventurers, who first visited the Archipelago, were deeply tinctured with the religious frenzy, bigotry, and intolerance of their age and nations, and no sooner had intercourse with the islanders than they began the work of conversion. The illustrious Magellan himself set the example, and, indeed, fell a sacrifice to his imprudent zeal on this subject.

Many circumstances contributed to frustrate the effects of this zeal. The instructors were ignorant of the language, the habits, and manners of the natives,—the manners of Europe were at direct variance with those of the east,—the Europeans, by their intemperance, and, above all, by their avarice and rapacity, brought their religion into odium,—and it happened unluckily that but a very little time before the commencement of their in-

tercourse, the people of the Archipelago had received a new religion, more popular, because introduced with more skill, and under circumstances more agreeable to the genius of their character, their state of society, and their temporal prosperity. Had not, however, the violence, injustice, and rapacity of the first Europeans estranged the natives from their worship, they were still in time enough, for scarcely was the Mahomedan religion any where fully established. The greater number of the people of the Moluccas and neighbouring isles were Pagans, so were many of the Javanese, and even many of the inhabitants of Malacca were so.

The success of the *Mahomedan* missionaries, contrasted with the failure of the *Christian*, it is not difficult to trace to the true cause. The Arabs and the other Mahomedan missionaries conciliated the natives of the country,—acquired their language,—followed their manners,—intermarried with them,—and, melting into the mass of the people, did not, on the one hand, give rise to a privileged race, nor on the other, to a degraded cast. Their superiority of intelligence and civilization was employed only for the instruction and conversion of a people, the current of whose religious opinions was ready to be directed into any channel into which it was skilfully diverted. They were merchants as well as the Europeans, but never dreamt of having recourse to the iniquitous measure of plundering *the*

people of the produce of their soil and industry. This was the cause which led to the success of the Mahomedans, and it was naturally the very opposite course which led to the defeat of the Christians. The Europeans in the Indian Archipelago have been just what the Turks have been in Europe, and the consequences of the policy pursued by both may fairly be quoted as parallel cases.

The only people among the Indian islanders who adopted the Christian religion were those nations and tribes who had but partially adopted Mahomedanism, or were still Pagans, and who, among the nations their neighbours, had made but a secondary progress in civilization. None of the greater and more improved tribes ever became proselytes, because they had adopted more heartily the Mahomedan doctrines, and were, besides, too powerful to be wholly subdued.

The poverty and barbarism of the natives of the Archipelago, under their own forms of government, and the deprivation of political, and even of personal rights under those of Europeans, forbid us to believe that a rational Christianity either was, or ever can be, under such circumstances, the character of religion among them. Their religion, under such disadvantages, whatever its name, can reasonably be viewed as but little better than one form of superstition distinguished from another. No middle or higher class, we may be assured, can be formed to set an example,

or form the morals of the humbler classes, in a country, the natives of which are, by a fixed policy, deprived of the property of the soil they were born to inherit, and where commerce is shackled by the effects of restrictions and monopolies, the direct tendency of which, as long as they last, must be to perpetuate poverty, ignorance, and superstition.

Under all the disadvantages of intolerance, bigotry, and oppression in the Philippines, and of a state of slavery in the Moluccas, amounting to a privation of almost every genial right which belongs to the natural situation of these people, some advantage may still be discovered in the influence of the Christian religion. It has either given rise to an energy and intelligence superior to that which characterizes the followers of the other modes of worship, or has bred manners more mild, and morals more inoffensive.*

The natives of the Philippines, who are Christians, possess a share of energy and intelligence, not only superior to their Pagan and Mahomedan brethren of the same islands, but superior also to

* Independent of the direct influence of religious principles, no doubt a good deal of this may fairly be ascribed to the reciprocity of kindness, good offices, and confidence, which a similarity of religious belief induces between the *governors* and the governed.

all the western inhabitants of the Archipelago, to the very people who, in other periods of their history bestowed—laws,—language,—and civilization upon them. They not only excel these, but the more advanced nations of Hindustan, as well in energy of character, as in intrepidity and intelligence. A well known fact will place this beyond the reach of doubt. In the intercolonial navigation of all the nations of Europe in the Indies, the natives of Manila are almost universally employed as gunners and steersmen; that is, in those offices where it is necessary to combine skill and firmness with mere physical labour and agility. It is an acknowledged fact, that the natives of Hindustan, with their present character, are *incapable* of being bred to fill such offices.

The natives of Amboyna, who are Christians, are much superior, both in morals and intelligence, to their countrymen who are Mahomedans, and notwithstanding all the oppression they have endured, are a peaceable and most inoffensive race of men. In the Dutch armies, they ranked above all the other Asiatic troops, and were paid, equipped, and considered on this scale of merit.

Without venturing at present to decide upon our right to impose our religion upon the people of *this portion* of India, or our claim to arbitrate for them in a matter of conscience, it will be fair to view Christianity in its influence as a mere instrument

of civilization. The most sceptical, then, may admit that it must tend to the unspeakable benefit of the governed to be of the same religious belief with their governors,—that mutual confidence must be strengthened,—and benevolence and kindness increased, by an accordance of opinion on so material a point. It is not, indeed, possible to conceive that the barbarians of the Archipelago should ever adopt a material and beneficial portion of the humanity,—improvement,—and morality of Europe, without, at the same time, adopting the religion with which these concomitants of civilization are so closely interwoven.

A perfect freedom of colonization and settlement to Europeans, an equality of rights to every denomination of inhabitants, and an unlimited and unrestricted freedom of commercial intercourse, will prove the certain, but the only means of disseminating *civilization* and *Christianity*, which, in such a case, are one and the same thing, for the one cannot be supposed to make essential progress without the other. In a country, such as the Indian Archipelago, no where peopled to within one third of its capacity to maintain a thriving population, there exists the most ample field for such improvement; and we have only to divest ourselves of the disgraceful and sordid prejudices which have for more than three centuries reduced these fine countries to misery and slavery, and suffer the or-

dinary and natural course of human society to proceed without interruption, to ensure a tranquil and certain success.

The feeble efforts made to propagate Christianity by insulated and unprotected missionaries, have proved, and must always prove, either injurious or nugatory.* The Christian religion, in the countries of the Archipelago, and in those around it, is justly unpopular, because, in every instance, it has either been the instrument of political intrigue, or been propagated by violence, when the consequence of its introduction has been the inevitable loss of the most valuable political and civil rights. The natives now view it, therefore, as the badge of slavery, and every where resist its introduction. It is the religion of the people only, where the people are weak enough, and the territory li-

* As to the converts these people (the Catholic Missionaries) have made; I have been credibly informed that they are chiefly of the very poor people, and that, in scarce times, their alms of rice have converted more than their preaching; and as to those also who have been *converted, as they call it*, that is, to beads and new images, and belief in the Pope, they have fallen off again, as rice grew plentiful, and would no longer be Christians than while the priests administered food to them. Yet I cannot think but that these people, who have such notions of a Supreme Deity, might, by the industry and example of good men, be brought to embrace the Christian faith.—Dampier, Vol. II. p. 96.

mited enough to enable the Europeans to effect a total subjugation, as in the examples of Luconia and Amboyna, in which the European power is concentrated, and the natives of the country too few for effectual resistance. Even here the propagation of Christianity has generally been the work of violence, and not of persuasion; and the tribes who preferred poverty to foreign domination have fled to the mountains, and are still unconverted. All the countries which surround these are still unconverted. Majindanao and Sooloo, so near to Luconia, have always resisted alike the Christian religion, and the Spanish yoke. The brave, active, and numerous inhabitants of the large island of Celebes, were offered at the same moment the religions of Mahomed and of Christ, and they gave the preference to that which did not endanger their national independence. Since then deprived of their rich commerce and their independence, by the Christians, they have had at least no *temporal* motive to repent of their choice.

If we take a survey of the history of Christianity in the great nations of Asia, who are the immediate neighbours of the tribes of the Indian islands, we shall discover ample corroboration of all that has been here advanced. In every country of the East, Christianity has been introduced to the people, along with the invariable and odious associates of unprincipled ambition, and commercial rapacity.

In Japan, the intrigues of the Christian missionaries, and those who employed them, caused the massacre of many thousand Christians, in a persecution more awful and extensive than any of which the annals of Christendom itself afford an example. The perpetual proscription of their religion, and the loss of that vast portion of the population of the globe, to the intercourse, and almost to the knowledge of the rest of mankind followed.* The Chinese,† as the influence of the Christians was smaller among them, and, therefore, excited less alarm, endured them longer, but they, too, finally expelled them, because they saw no end to their restless and unprincipled ambition. In Tonquin,‡ Cochin-China,|| and Camboja, they were persecuted, executed, or expelled, and a similar treatment was pursued towards them in Siam.§

With the exception of the obstacles which the impolicy of Europeans themselves has created against the propagation of their religion, there exist no others. The habits and character of the people of this portion of Asia are not, in any respect, inimical to the adoption of a new form of worship. They are rather, indeed, in that stage of society

* Kempfer, Vol. II. Book iv.

† Duhalde's China, Vol. II.

‡ Choix Lettres Edifiantes, Tom. II. p. 32, *et sequent.*

|| Choix Lettres Edifiantes. Tom. II. p. 72, &c.

§ Kempfer's Japan, Vol. I. B. ii.

in which new opinions are listened to with most avidity. What M. La Loubere says, from his experience of the Siamese, is still more applicable to the races whose history I am writing. "The Orientals,"* says he, "have no prejudice for any religion, and it must be confessed, that if the beauty of Christianity has not convinced them, it is principally by reason of the bad opinion which the avarice, treachery, invasions, and tyranny of the Portuguese and some other Christians in the Indies, have implanted and rivetted in them."†

* This observation is much too general, and ought not to be extended to the *west* of the *Berhampootr*.

† Du Royaume de Siam, Tom. I.

BOOK VII.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

History of the Archipelago, naturally divided into two parts, Native and European.—*The History of three of the Native tribes only worth a separate detail.—European History.—Paucity of great Events, and of remarkable Characters, to what to be ascribed.—Most remarkable Native Characters.—The Laksimana, or Admiral of Malacca.—Character of Asiatic Settlers.—Shekh Maulana, Sultan of Cheribon.—Remarkable European Characters.—Antonio Galvan, the greatest man of whom the History of the Archipelago makes mention.—Character of Albuquerque.—Of St Zavier.—Paucity of Eminent Characters among the Dutch.—Character of the early Governors.—Character of Speelman, the most remarkable individual of the Dutch History of the Indies.—Causes which proved hostile to the appearance of distinguished talent among the Dutch Colonists.*

THE history of the Indian Archipelago naturally divides itself into two parts, the one comprising the Native, and the other the European story.

The first, alone, has an immediate relation to the nature of the work which I have undertaken to write; but, as the dominion which European nations have, for more than three centuries, established in the Archipelago, has produced a most important influence on the fortune and character of the native races, a sketch of its history could not be dispensed with. To the native history, I have devoted six short chapters; and to the European narrative three. Both are too obviously defective in interest and dignity to demand the solemn and continuous narrative of regular history, and I have, therefore, treated the first chiefly with the view of illustrating the character of the people, and the progress of social order in a condition of society in many respects novel and peculiar; and the second, principally in its bearings on the first, avoiding, as unnecessary to my purpose, and probably as of little interest to the general reader, the details of colonial intrigue and depravity.

With the view of superseding any objections which might be urged against this plan,—of giving some degree of unity to the present book,—and of supplying useful or necessary information to the more practical reader, a chapter is subjoined, which embraces, in the form of a chronological table, a detail of the whole events of the history of the Archipelago, whether native or European.

Among the innumerable tribes of the Archipe-

lago, the great nations inhabiting Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, from the more favourable circumstances under which they have been placed, have, in all known periods of the history of the Archipelago, distinguished themselves above the other tribes, —by their knowledge of letters,—useful arts,—and arms,—in a word, by their progress in civilization. That civilization has, by various means, been spread throughout the Archipelago, and influenced the manners and character of the neighbouring tribes. Their governments have long assumed a regular form, and records, or consistent traditions, have handed down to us a narrative of their transactions. Their history alone, therefore, is deserving of consideration, and forms the first department of this *book*. To the history of the most civilized of these nations, the Javanese, three chapters are assigned; and one is appropriated for each of the other two, which will comprise all that it is necessary to narrate of *their* transactions.

With regard to the European history, three nations only, the *Portuguese*, the *Dutch*, and the *Spaniards*, have established a dominion of such extent or duration, as to produce a material influence upon the condition of the native inhabitants, and the story of each of these is treated of in a distinct chapter.

In perusing both the native and European story, the reader will not fail to remark both the par-

city of great events, and the absence of great characters, on the theatre of Polynesian history. There is no circumstance in their history, unless we except their discovery by Europeans, which deserves to be considered among the great events of the common history of mankind; and hardly an individual, of such prominent fortune or endowment, as to rank with the great men of other countries. This phenomenon, as far as the natives are concerned, may be traced to the insulated situation of these regions,—to the barbarism of their inhabitants,—and to the physical condition of insular and tropical countries, the very nature of which has proved an insuperable barrier to the great and ambitious movements and migrations which have marked the progress of nations equally or more barbarous in temperate and continental climates. In the Indian islands the field is wanting for the exercise of great military talents, and they have, of consequence, never existed. Such a feebleness of intellect is the result of such a state of society, and such a climate, that we may usually reckon that the greatest powers of the *native* mind will hardly bear a comparison, in point of strength and resources, to the ordinary standard of the human understanding in the highest stages of civilization, though they may necessarily be better suited for distinction in the peculiar circumstances in which they are called into action. The only native characters, whose genius places them above the

usual mediocrity of their country and ages, are the *Làksimana* of Malacca, *Surapati*, the Balinese slave, *Senopati*, prince of Mataram, and his grandson, the *Sultan Agung*. Of these, the most distinguished, beyond all compare, was the *Laksimana*, or admiral of Mahomed, king of Malacca, a chief endowed with a courage, prudence, and resources, which enabled him, for years, to make head against the conquering arms of the Portuguese, who had the generosity to do justice to his great qualities.

The *Asiatic strangers* who settled in the Archipelago, and effected so great a revolution in its religious and even political history, as they belonged to nations in a higher state of social improvement than the native tribes of the Archipelago, so were their intellectual powers usually of a higher order and more vigorous character. The particular adventurers, however, who found their way into the Indian islands, were unfavourable specimens of the people whom they represented. Instead of being bold military adventurers, advanced to rank and command by their talents and exploits, or ambitious chiefs of distinguished birth, they were petty traders, whose minds were narrowed by the humbleness of their occupations. With all the aids of canonization, therefore, few of their names have been handed down to us, and still fewer have, from any real merit, a claim to have those names recorded. The most distinguished is Shekh Mau-

lana, who founded in Java three considerable states, which were handed down in a long dynasty. The man who conquered at least a million of inhabitants, and converted so numerous a people to a foreign religion, could have been no ordinary person.

Of the European nations, the Portuguese furnish by far the most numerous list of distinguished characters, and the following names deserve particular notice. Alphonso Albuquerque, Magellan, Antonio Galvan, and St Francis Zavier. Of these, or of any names connected with the history of the Indian Archipelago, incomparably the greatest, except that of Magellan, whose merits scarcely belong to our present subject, is that of the virtuous, the pious, the discreet, and heroic Galvan. He composed the odious dissentions of his countrymen in the Moluccas, introduced order and tranquillity into those oppressed islands, purity into the European administration, and instituted seminaries for education, of such approved wisdom, that they afterwards became the model for similar ones established on the continent of India, and in Europe. The high and heroic enthusiasm of his character is displayed in his successively challenging to single combat the two principal kings of the Moluccas, to save the effusion of blood, and put a speedy end to the horrors of war. This great man, whose high endowments were not in request with his countrymen in the east, and were not appreciated in the west, was, after a short ad-

ministration of two years, removed from his trust; and, on his return to Portugal, permitted to die from want in a prison.

The conqueror, Albuquerque, was a brave officer, and endowed with the great and high qualities necessary for the government of men in the turbulent and violent career pursued by the first Portuguese conquerors; but his conquest of Malacca is not among the most distinguished events of his brilliant administration. The conquest was, in itself, an act of palpable injustice; it was carried into effect with peculiar ferocity; and such was the want of wisdom and moderation which marked his own short administration of the new acquisition, that he laid the seeds of much of the misfortunes which attended the future history of the ill-fated city.

The apostle of the Indies deserves to be considered as one of the greatest men, and one of the most disinterested, virtuous, and useful, that ever visited the Indies. It is impossible to read his *true story* without forming this conclusion.

The Dutch, from their more extensive power, we might be led to expect, would have produced a long list of eminent individuals, but this has not been the case. Not an illustrious name has been handed down to us, from the ranks of inferior agents; and we *hear* only of those at the head of the government, a circumstance that may excite a

suspicion, that the indiscriminate eulogies with which the latter are loaded, they owe rather to the lustre of their high rank, than to the greatness of their personal qualities. The first governors-general were men of plain good sense, steady perseverance, and intrepid courage, who sustained their difficult trusts with applause, and they were in all respects superior to their European competitors of the same age, on the same theatre of action. But they do not seem to have risen much beyond the level of ordinary educated Europeans of their own day. Coen was the most remarkable of them. Their successors degenerated from their virtues. Speelman was one of these, and may, upon the whole, be considered as the most eminent of all the characters which the Dutch history of the Indies has produced. He was a man of enlightened understanding, and of active enterprise, and may be considered as a man endowed with high qualifications, both for civil and military command. These qualities were displayed in a remarkable degree, in a long course of *subordinate* service; but it turned out unfortunately for his reputation, that when he rose to *supreme authority*, he sunk into an indolent and ordinary voluptuary, and did nothing to support his early fame.

The mercantile principle, which was perpetually held in view in the Dutch councils, was inimical to the growth and display of genius and talents of

the higher class. The persons, too, who, in later times, sustained the fortunes of the Dutch nation in the Indies, were depraved by the circumstances under which they were placed,—by the contemplation of domestic slavery,—by wantoning in irregular gains,—by the absence of all regular industry and competition,—by a long course of domination over the feeble races by which they were surrounded,—and by the want of an equal enemy or rival to afford a wholesome exercise and emulation.

The Spanish worthies are still fewer in number, and I think it would be difficult to produce one name of distinction, except that of Legaspi, who established the Spanish power in the Philippines, and founded Manila. He was a man of courage, discretion, and wisdom, and possessed of the enthusiasm and the suppleness of character, which suited him for the novel and difficult charge committed to his care. *

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* Lafitau, Histoire des decouvertes et conquetes des Portugais dans le noveau monde.---Valentyn, History and Description of the Dutch Settlements in the East Indies.---Zuniga, History of the Philippines.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF JAVA.

No Ancient Historical Composition known to the Javanese.—Attempts at History since the Introduction of Mahomedanism.—Character of these attempts.—No great permanent empire ever established in Java, and why.—The latter part of the twelfth Century, the earliest authentic date ascertained.—Lists of ancient Kings mostly fabrications.—Ancient Inscriptions referred to.—Hindu States, viz. Doho, Brambanan, Mădang-kamolan, Jănggolo, Singhasari, Păjajaran, Mojopahit.

No one, aware of the weakness of the human mind, and of the universal prevalence of superstition and credulity, in so rude a state of society as that which exists in Java, will reasonably expect to find the Javanese possessed of any remote records deserving the name of history. If the accounts of their ancient story be less monstrously extravagant and impudent than those of the Hindus, they are fully more childish and incongruous. We find the mythological legends of ancient India *naturalized* in Java, and blended with the wild tales of the country, while the whole, mixed up with Jewish and Mahomedan story, forms a mass of ab-

surdity, and of puerile incongruity, almost unequalled in the accounts of any other people.

From the period of the acquaintance of the Javanese with Mahomedans, forming an exact parallel case with the Hindus of India, the dawning of the historical truth, and some common sense and moderation may be discovered, brightening slowly as we descend, and, for the last two centuries, improving into records of *some* consistency and moderation. Still, however, the professed object of historical writing among the Javanese is amusement, and not utility; in their most recent productions we see a constant effort made to give the most natural and obvious transactions an air of romance, and even to convert the most ordinary affairs of human life into tales to amuse the fancy. Every transaction which wears an air of mystery is eagerly seized, and converted into a miracle, or ascribed to supernatural agency, while the most important movements of society are either taken no notice of at all, or treated with provoking apathy and neglect. The unskilfulness and awkwardness even of these attempts, as efforts of fancy, are such as to excite no other feelings than pity for the weakness of the human mind in the infancy of civilization, in regions of the world where the strength and fertility of the imagination have never compensated, as in Europe, for the feebleness of reason.

What we are soon struck with in Javanese story

is its *recentness*, for even tradition does not pretend to an antiquity of above a few centuries. In the history of the rude Javanese, the lapse of a hundred years removes from their knowledge all preceding facts, in a much greater degree than five times the period among a people acquainted with true history and chronology. It is for this reason that the Mahomedan conversion, an affair not yet three centuries and a half old, is already *ancient history*, and enveloped in its miracles and mysteries, and that all previous transactions are involved in utter uncertainty and obscurity. The remote story of the Javanese is, in fact, a fit topic for a dissertation on antiquities, rather than a subject for history, and will soon be discovered to relate with propriety to the portion of this work which treats of the ancient religion and antiquities of the island, to which I, therefore, refer the reader.

With respect to the history of Java, one very important remark requires to be premised. Compact, defined, and, compared to great empires, limited, as is the territory, the island has *never* been permanently united under one sovereign. The state of society in Java did not supply those powers of combined action which enable a people to make extensive and distant conquests, and, above all, the skill necessary to regulate and maintain them. A few princes, more able and ambitious than their contemporaries, have at times subjugated their immediate

neighbours, and thus extended their dominions; and, on one or two occasions, we see approaches made to a dominion over the whole island. But the duration of these more considerable states is but momentary, and marked with constant anarchy and rebellion, while the natural determination of the society to subdivide into small states, is distinctly marked in every period of the history of the island. We shall perhaps, however, underrate the improvement of the Javanese, by applying to them too rigidly this test of civilization. They possess the necessaries, the comforts, and some of the refinements,—perhaps of the luxuries of life,—in a far superior degree to most of the Nomade tribes, who effected and retained the mighty conquests of Europe, Western Asia, and China. The shepherd state, the offspring of the cold and immeasurable plains of Tartary, and the school both of war and government, could have no existence among the woods, the narrow valleys, and soft climate of Java. The Javanese are *naturally* an unwarlike people, and it is the necessary consequence of their luxurious climate, that they should want the hardihood and manly virtues of the semibarbarians of severer regions. The fertility of their soil, and the benignity of their climate, are a sort of hot-bed, in which has sprung up a sickly civilization, wanting the vigour and hardihood of the plant of a rougher clime, and more stubborn soil.

The latter portion of the twelfth century is the earliest period of Javanese history to which I can with any confidence refer. From this time, down to the establishment of Mahomedanism, at the close of the fifteenth century, a number of considerable, but independent states, existed in Java, and the religion of the people was a modified Hinduism, according to the doctrines ascribed to Buddha, as is shown in the chapter on Ancient Religion. The theory of a great monarchy, and of an antecedent state of high civilization and improvement, so often pretended by the Brahmins, has also been forged by the national vanity of the Javanese, unsupported, as already remarked, by a shadow of proof, and contradicted by unquestionable internal evidence. The different independent states now alluded to, are conjectured by the Javanese writers to have been so many seats of this great monarchy, and genealogical lists of the sovereigns of Java are fabricated, where the patriarchs of Jewish history,—the saints of Mahomedan legends,—and the heroes of the Mahaharat, are, as occasion requires, employed to fill up a gap. Even in the more recent portions of them, these genealogical lists are equally irreconcilable with reason and each other. Some of them go as far back as the utmost extent of the established era, or 1747 years, while others modestly stop short at two, three, or five hundred. The most disordered discrepancy prevails in these pretended chronologies. By

one account, five princes are described as having reigned in one place; by a second, seven. A seat of empire, where four princes are described as having reigned in a third account, is, princes and all, omitted in a fourth. The average duration of a reign, by one account, is 55 years,—by another, 50,—and by a third, near 40. In short, they abound as much in folly, ignorance, and inconsistency, as we have a right to reckon upon in the remote story of a people still rude and uninformed.

Upon such fabulous relations as those now alluded to, we can place no confidence whatever, and our only reliance is upon the meagre and unsatisfactory notices contained in ancient inscriptions, from which *a few dates may* be ascertained, though not a single hint respecting the transactions of the country is to be collected even from these. From the incompetency of our interpreters, and the absurd and mystical principle on which dates are generally reckoned, such latitude and uncertainty of interpretation arise, that our resources from inscriptions, even in determining a few dates, are extremely limited; and, in general, it will scarcely be safe to trust to the dates to be derived from them, except when given in actual figures.

The remains of ancient palaces and royal tombs, but particularly of ancient temples,—of numerous images of stone and brass,—and of inscriptions on the same materials, all dedicated to religion, in

rude ages the only considerable and durable monuments of art, still point out to us the seats or capitals of the principal native states in Java, and tradition has handed down their names. The following are the chief, which existed in the three centuries which preceded the conversion to Mahomedanism: *Doho*, *Brambanan*, *Mădang-kamolan*, *Jangola*, *Singhasari*, *Păjajaran*, and *Mojopahit*. Considerable relics of ancient temples, and other structures, in various situations, in the midst of some of the most fertile districts of the island, point out where there must have existed other considerable states, but respecting these, even tradition itself is silent.

The ruins of *Doho* are in the fertile district of *Kădiri*, about the centre of the island, counting by its length and towards the southern coast. The earliest date I can ascribe to these is the year 1117, of the era of Salivana, or 1195 of Christ. Here reigned *Joyo Boyo*, a prince of high fame in Javanese romance.

The state which existed at Brambanan flourished about the years of Salivana 1188 and 1218, or 1266 and 1296 of Christ. Of this state we know not one syllable of the *real* history.

Tradition hands down to us the name of *Mădang-kamolan*, and, in the district of *Wirosobo*, the ruins of a palace are still discernible, but it is utterly impossible to assign any era to it.

Jänggolo and *Singhasari*, the first in the district of Surabaya, and the last in that of Malang, both towards the eastern part of Java, are said to have flourished at the same time. One of the fabricated accounts assigns to them the year 1082 of Salivana; another, 816; and a third, 818; but an inscription and a real date, in legible figures, enables us to determine that they flourished about the year 1242.* At *Jänggolo* reigned the princes so famed in Javanese romance, and from them in those of the Malays and Balinese, under the name of *Panji*. It would be in vain to attempt to extract an atom of true history from the absurd and incoherent traditions respecting the princes of *Jänggolo*; but it seems probable, that their authority extended over a considerable portion of the eastern part of the island, and that they displayed a considerable share of adventure, holding some connection with princes beyond the limits of the island, which was even, perhaps, extended to India.

Pajajaran,† about forty miles from the modern city of Batavia, is pointed out by tradition as the only ancient state of considerable extent, which ever flourished in the country of the *Sundas*. Its situa-

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* An inscription found by my friend Dr Horsfield, in the eastern district of *Panataran*, contains the date here alluded with the name of the prince and his queen.

† This word means *arrangement*.

tion is determined by the foundations of a palace still distinctly to be traced. With respect to the era of the foundation of *Păjajaran*, I can discover no date to which I can refer with confidence. The pretended annals of the Javanese differ from each other on the subject, as widely as two hundred years. The *probability* is, that it flourished during the end of the thirteenth, and beginning of the fourteenth centuries of the Christian era.

The origin of the last and best known of the Hindu states of Java, *Mojopahit*,* remains as undetermined as that of *Păjajaran*. In the chronologies of the Javanese writers, there is here, too, an irreconcilable discrepancy of from 80 to 143 years. All accounts agree that *Mojopahit* was destroyed in the year of Salivana 1400, or 1478 of Christ, and, from presumptive evidence it is inferred that it *may have been* founded about a century and a half before. The dynasty of princes which reigned at *Mojopahit*, appears to have extended its authority over the finest provinces of the island, and to have spread the name and arms of the Javanese nation beyond the precincts of their own country, for it was during this period of

* The word means, "The place of the bitter *Mojo* tree." Places are very frequently named by the Indian islanders after trees or plants, as Pasuruhan, the place of the betel vine; and Pajarakan, the place of the Palma Christi. The bitter *Mojo* is an imaginary fruit.

the history of Java that at *Palembang*, in Sumatra, was established the Javanese colony, which to this day speak the language of Java, and exhibit the peculiar manners, customs, and forms of government of that country; and it was by the same princes, though Javanese story or tradition be wholly silent on the subject, that the Malayan state at *Singhapura* was subverted.* The ruins of the city of *Mojopahit* are still visible in the district of Wirosobo, and both from the extent of the area which they occupy, not less than several square miles, and the beauty of some of the relics of architecture, we are inclined to form a respectable opinion of the power of this native state, estimating it by a just standard, and rejecting those exaggerations which the imagination is prone to indulge with regard to all that is involved in the mystery of antiquity. We must not forget, however, that much of the celebrity which it enjoys, in the legends of other countries of the Archipelago, was probably owing to the missionaries of Islam, who disseminated and exaggerated the fame of a conquest they had themselves made.

* The invasion of the territory of a smaller tribe by a greater, is an affair of higher importance in the history of the former than in that of the latter, and more likely to be preserved in their records or traditions. In investigations of this nature, this circumstance ought to be kept in remembrance. I think it a supposition not improbable, that *Mojopahit* is ignorantly applied by the Malays to all the eastern portion of *ancient* Java, and to every period of its *ancient* history.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE PROPAGATION OF MAHOMEDANISM IN JAVA.

Many of the circumstances connected with the introduction of Mahomedanism involved in fable.—Mahomedanism introduced among some of the more Western Tribes, 150 years before it was established in Java.—Decay of Hinduism in Java facilitated the propagation of Mahomedanism.—Mahomedan Merchants had long frequented the Island, previous to the establishment of their Religion.—An unsuccessful attempt to propagate Mahomedanism in the Western Districts.—Missionaries of Islam, in Java, were not alien strangers, but persons familiar with the Habits and Language of the People.—Shekh Rahmat the first Missionary.—Raden Patah, a Javanese of the Colony of Palembang, the principal Agent.—His story, according to the Javanese.—He intrigues for the Subversion of the National Religion of Java.—The Mahomedans defeated in the first Action.—Mahomedans Victorious in the second Battle.—They take and destroy the Hindu Capital of Mojopahit.—Strictures on the Javanese Accounts of these Transactions.—Abstract of the true story of the Introduction of the Religion of Mahomed.—Political State of Java, immediately before the Triumph of Mahomedanism.—The nine Apostles of Mahomedanism usually designated Susunan.—Their Character.—Shekh Maulana the ablest of them.—Account of his Converting the People of the Western Districts.—Cheribon.—Bantan.—Pajajaran.—General Reflections.

The establishment of Mahomedanism in Java is just of 347 years' standing; yet even this event, comparatively so modern, is involved in much of that fable and perplexity, which are ever inseparable from the story of rude people in every age. I shall, in this chapter, endeavour to glean for the reader the true circumstances of this transaction, where they appear of sufficient consequence to merit narration. The event is an important one in the particular history of the people of whom I am rendering an account; and so far as it illustrates the character of a people in a peculiar stage of civilization,---of consequence in the history of man in general.

Mahomedanism was predominant in the western portion of the Archipelago, at least 150 years before it was *finally* established in Java. The commerce in spices, for which the western countries of the Archipelago were the emporia, attracted thither some adventurers from the Arabian and Persian Gulfs, at an early period, who, colonizing on the coasts, became in time fit instruments for the propagation of the Mahomedan religion.

No record whatever is preserved of any early intercourse between Arabia and *Java*, but there can be little doubt but the richest and most civilized country of the Indian islands soon

attracted the curiosity or cupidity of the Arabian traders or of their descendants, naturalized among the western natives.

The Hinduism established throughout the Archipelago was by no means of the same inveterate character as that of continental India. It had not laid a strong hold of the imagination, and was not, as there, interwoven, not only with political institutions, but with the common duties and offices of life. * It had by no means superseded the *still grosser* local superstitions of the country, and it was a system in itself too complicated and subtile to suit a state of society unquestionably more rude and unimproved than that in which its baneful empire has been so fully established. In Java, which contained the most civilized community, Hinduism, we are warranted in believing, must have made a deeper impression than in any other country of the Archipelago; and to this we ought, in some measure, to ascribe the long rejection of Mahomedanism by the Javanese, after it had been adopted by so many of their neighbours. Even among the Javanese, however, the empire of the Hindu religion over the human mind was very far from being firmly established. The propagation of Mahomedanism, when once

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* Hume's History of England, Vol. I.

the work of conversion was fairly commenced upon, was rapid, and as complete as the genius of society among the people would permit. The period of the conversion of the great tribes of *the western portion of the Archipelago*, may, indeed, I think, be pointed out particularly, as the most flourishing period of Hinduism in Java, as I have endeavoured to show, in the account of ancient religion and antiquities. On the other hand, the era of its decline was that of the successful propagation of Mahomedanism.

That the Mahomedans frequented the island of Java long previous to the establishment of their religion, is determined with certainty, by the existence of their burying grounds, on more than one part of the north coast, where tombs are found of a date nearly a whole century earlier than the fall of Mojopahit; and an unsuccessful attempt to convert some of the Sunda tribes is said to have been made as early as the year of Salivana 1250, or 1328 of Christ. In the more populous and civilized eastern districts, an attempt to propagate Mahomedanism was made in 1313 of the era of Salivana, or 1391 of Christ, by a foreigner called *Raja Chărmen*, and by an Arab of the name of *Maulana Ibrahim*. The latter lived at *Gărsik*, after this unsuccessful, and, apparently, imprudent and premature attempt, and died there, in 1334 of Salivana, A. D. 1412. In the history of the conversion of the Indian

islanders to Mahomedanism there is one important fact which ought to be kept in view, that the missionaries who brought about this revolution were not alien strangers, unconnected and unprepared, but supple agents disciplined for their enterprise, by a knowledge of the language, character, and manners of the people. We see that in Java the road had been paved for the introduction of Mahomedanism, by a whole century's acquaintance, a period during which would have been bred up a number of useful inferior agents to aid the efforts of the principal actors. The discreet forbearance of the Mahomedan missionaries, and the many essential doctrines and practices of *their* faith, which they compromised, show that, however vulgar and uneducated, they were no intemperate zealots, but men who understood the art of governing mankind, and whom a general knowledge of mankind and necessity had taught to substitute dexterity and cunning for open force.

The principal state in Java, at the period of the conversion, was the kingdom of Mojopahit, and the name of the ruling monarch, it is agreed on all hands, was *Browijoyo.* * The principal agents in the work of conversion were *Shekh Rahmat*, the son of an Arab priest, by a woman

* A contraction, it is said, of Bramah-Wijaya, a Sanskrit compound epithet, meaning Bramah the Victorious.

of Champa, whose sister was in the haram of the king of Mojopahit; but, above all, *Raden Patah*, son of *Arya Damar*, chief of the Javanese colony of *Palembang*, in Sumatra, already mentioned. This colony, surrounded by Malay tribes, and mixing with them as the less numerous party, though the most powerful, seems to have adopted the religion of Mahomet, and to have become, from this circumstance, and its natural connection with Java, a principal means of propagating Mahomedanism in the latter country.

The story, although involved in much improbability and contradiction, must be given as narrated by the Javanese writers themselves; after which I shall add the necessary comments and strictures. During the period of the Mojopahit empire, a considerable intercourse existed between Java and the continental part of India, and the favourite wife of Browijoyo was a native of the Little Buddhist and Siamese kingdom of Champa, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Siam,* the daughter, in short, of

* "Here we found two small vessels at an anchor on the east side. They were laden with rice and lacquer, which is used in japanning of cabinets. One of these came from Champa, bound to the town of Malacca, which belongs to the Dutch, who took it from the Portuguese; and this shows they have a trade with Champa. This was a very pretty, neat vessel, her bottom very clean, and curiously coated; she had about forty

the king of that country. In her own country the princess had a sister who married an Arabian priest, whose name was *Shekh Wali Lanang Ibrahim.* The sister of the queen of Java, say the Javanese accounts, had by this person two sons, who are known in Java by the names of *Raden Pandita* and *Raden Rahmat.* When they arrived at the years of manhood, they were recommended by their mother to visit the court of their uncle by marriage, the king of Mojopahit. They accordingly embarked, but were shipwrecked on the coast of Kamboja, and being detained by the sovereign of that country, a deputation from the Javanese monarch was necessary to effect their release.

The two adventurers finally effected their voyage to Java, and were received and caressed by the king of Mojopahit. Of *Raden Pandita* we hear no more; but *Raden Rahmat* became afterwards celebrated as the first apostle of Islam in Java, made many proselytes,—acquired a grant of land from the monarch,—and constructed the first mosque ever built in Java. He assumed the title of *Susu-*

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men, all armed with cortans, or broad swords, lances, and some guns, that went with a swivel upon their gunnal. They were of the idolaters, natives of Champa; and some of the briskest, most sociable, without fearfulness or shyness, and the most neat and dexterous about their shipping, of any such I have met with in all my travels."—Dampier, Vol. I. p. 100

hunan, abbreviated *Susunan*, and *Sunan*, which, no matter its literal signification, meant, in its early use, *apostle*, but when assumed by the temporal sovereigns, two centuries afterwards, is more appropriately explained by the word Caliph, as it was applied to the temporal and spiritual successors of Mahomet.

Among the wives of *Browijoyo* was a Chinese, or more probably the Creole descendant of a man of that nation, whose history is by the native writers connected with the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. This woman was repudiated by the Javanese monarch, when pregnant of *Raden Patah*, and made over to the chief of *Palembang*, *Arya Damar*, said to have been Browijoyo's own son.

Raden Patah, when he grew up, accompanied by *Raden Husen*, a real son of *Arya Damar*, by the same mother, came to Java, both converts to the Mahomedan religion. *Raden Patah* assumed the character of a zealot and a devotee, but *Raden Husen* contented himself with temporal advantages, and the promotion he received at the court of his grandfather, where he was raised to the rank of *adipati*, or governor of the district of *Trung*, and in due time even intrusted with the command of the army, which afterwards encountered the forces of *the faithful*.

Raden Patah settled in the district of *Damak*, or *Bintoro*, where he was permitted to reside,

through the influence of his brother. His conduct, however, creating at last some suspicion at the capital, his brother paid him a visit, and prevailed upon him to make his appearance at court, and pay the accustomed homage. *Raden Patah* was not only forgiven, but preferred to the honours and emoluments of *adipati* of *Bintoro*.

With this title he returned to *Damak*, and began to intrigue anew for the subversion of the national worship, surrounded by the most celebrated of the advocates of the new religion. *Raden Patah* having, by his intrigues, at length formed a considerable party, and mustered a respectable force, gave the command to a Javanese, who obtained or assumed the name of Susuhunan *Udang*, for the zealot himself appears to have been no soldier. This is alleged to have happened in the year 1390 of Salivana, after *Raden Patah* had been no less than five and thirty years on the island. The Mahomedan force was encountered and defeated near *Gărsik*, by the Hindu forces under the command of *Husen*, and their general killed.

Raden Patah, not discouraged by this defeat, applied for, and obtained succour from; *the faithful* at *Palembang*, and was in condition shortly after to assemble a fresh force, of which the command was given to *Susunan Kudus*, son of the general who had been defeated and killed in the last engagement. *Husen*, still the commander of the

troops of Mojopahit, was now in his turn defeated, and the consequence of the loss of the battle was the capture of Mojopahit, its eventual destruction, and the triumph of Mahomedanism, which is *well ascertained* to have happened in the year of Salivana 1400, corresponding to 1478 of the Christian era.

The leading circumstances of this account are no doubt correct, but there are some of the minuter parts of the detail irreconcilable with truth and probability. The most remarkable of these are the story of the princess of *Champa*, and of the birth of *Raden Patah*. *Champa*, as already mentioned, is a small state on the eastern coast of the gulf of Siam, the inhabitants of which are Hindus of the sect of Buddha, like the other people of farther India. The emigration of females is strictly forbidden in all these countries, and, therefore, it is not very likely that the king of Java, though of the same religion, should obtain a wife from that country; and if he had, it is absurd to imagine that the vagabond priest of a foreign and hostile religion, should obtain in marriage her sister and the daughter of the king of the country. The probability is, that the wife of the king of Java was some humble female, clandestinely withdrawn from *Champa*, and *procured* for the king of Java's haram, by the instrumentality of some of the Arab traders themselves. This princess is alleged by

the Javanese to have been converted to the Mahomedan religion on the capture of Mojopahit; and her tomb, still reckoned a holy shrine, and attended by Moslem priests, is pointed out near the ruins of the city. In a visit made to this place in 1815, we discovered, unfortunately for this account, the date 1320, distinctly inscribed on the tomb, eighty years before the destruction of the city, and as many at least before the reputed death of the princess.

As to the revolting account of the birth of *Raden Patah*, in which a father, and a king, is represented as giving his pregnant wife in marriage to his own son, it was probably the fabrication of a later age, determined, at all hazards, to give a royal pedigree to the founder of the Mahomedan religion.

All that is important in the history of the introduction of Mahomedanism is told in a few words. The Mahomedans, in the course of several ages, had accumulated in considerable numbers. Many of them were persons who had seen the manners of other nations: all were superior in intelligence to the natives, and were capable of acting in combination for a great end;—they were actuated by a religious zeal, and, at length, found an ambitious, persevering, and able leader. The aboriginal barbarians of Java, less active and civilized, with a religion which never laid a strong hold of the imagi-

nation, and, at the moment, as is proved in another place, for a long time on the decline, or unsupported by an active priesthood, were no match, notwithstanding their numbers, for the zeal and energy of their adversaries. The throne and government being subverted, and the leaders adopting the new religion, the progress of conversion among a people who, at this moment, would almost adopt a new religion on the authority of a royal mandate or proclamation, was necessarily rapid. *

The political state of the island, previous to the subversion of Hinduism, may be described as follows.—The eastern and central provinces, the richest and most populous districts of the island, were subject to the king of Mojopahit, some in a vassal state, and others under his direct sway. *Cheribon*, and the districts around it, were under petty independent princes. The rest of the island, comprehending

* If we are to credit the apochryphal authority of Mendez Pinto, and there is no good reason to distrust it, the Hindu religion existed entire in the independent kingdom of Pasuruhan, 68 years after the fall of Mojopahit. The chief of Damak, and other Mahomedan princes, went against it in the year 1546, and were defeated. Pinto accompanied the expedition along with some other Portuguese adventurers, and his narrative though crowded with the most palpable falsehoods in matters of detail, shows that he understood the country and the people of which he was rendering an account.—Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, Chap. xliv.

all the other Sunda districts, and Bantam, were subject to the king of *Păjajaran*. In the western districts, the work of conversion went on as rapidly as in the eastern, and at the same time. The most active and distinguished of the leaders in the work of conversion throughout the island, are known by the name of *the nine Susuhunans* or apostles, of whom as many fabulous and puerile tales are related, as if in Europe they had been the worthies of three thousand years ago. The truth is, that such of them as were foreigners, or rather the descendants of foreigners, were a set of adventurers who, as usual, traded as well in religion as in merchandise, and who were more remarkably characterized by the cunning of petty traders, than by that high and chivalrous enthusiasm which distinguished the hardy and high-born chiefs of Arabia, that spread the religion of *the prophet* over the countries of Western Asia, in the early ages of Moslem history. *

Unquestionably, the most able and enterprising of all these was the apostle of the western districts, *Shekh Maulana*, Sultan of Cheribon, called *Susuhanan Gunung-Jati*, from the place of his residence. He was by birth an Arab, but had sojourned for years among the Mahomedan countries of the

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* Ockley's History of the Saracens.

Archipelago, before he reached Java. He is said to have arrived in that island as early as 1334, which is highly inprobable, as his death, which is better ascertained, did not take place until 94 years after; and surely the man, who had sojourned for years in other countries of the Archipelago, after being old enough to leave his own, and of years to become the character of an apostle, could not, on his entering upon that office, have been a youth. Whatever the period of his arrival or birth, his apostolic functions were active and important, and the reward to himself and his family, was the acquisition of considerable principalities. He conquered and converted the districts of Cheribon for himself, and, sending his son to Bantam, in 1402 of Salivana, 1480 of Christ, the young prince made proselytes of the inhabitants, as is expressly mentioned in the annals or traditions of that part of the island, *by the gentle means of persuasion* and not by the sword. His father conferred upon the young prince the title of Sultan of Bantam, and assumed himself the same title for Cheribon. From them are descended the present princes of both countries. The Sultan of Bantam, after he was some years established in his government, made war upon the pagan king of *Păjajaran, Prabu Seda,* and capturing his palace, the country fell, without farther struggles under his authority, and the inhabitants accepted the religion of the Koran. A

third kingdom was formed for another son of the Sultan of Cheribon, in the principality of *Jacatra*, on the seat of the modern Batavia, and which hereditarily descended to his posterity, until their conquest by the Dutch in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

These spiritual and temporal conquests were made in concert, or at least in correspondence, with the apostles of *Islam* to the east, and reciprocal aid was frequently furnished by them to each other.

Such is a sketch of all that is useful or authentic in the history of the conversion of the Javanese to the religion of Mahomet. It may be remarked, as a singular coincidence, that the Mahomedan religion was extending itself thus in Asia, at the very time it was expelled from Europe ; and it is curious to observe, that this important revolution was going forward nearly at the same moment with the grandest events of the history of man. Mojopaphit was destroyed but 14 years before the discovery of America, and but nine before Vasca di Gama doubled the Cape. It was a moment, indeed, when the nations of the world throughout were becoming better acquainted with each other. The European reader, in reflecting upon this subject, will feel regret, that the intolerant religion of Mahomed should have anticipated the religion and civilization of a more polished and improved portion of mankind ; but that regret will be moderated when he

considers the bigotry and cruelty of the Portuguese, the first adventurers, and the mean and pitiful policy of their mercantile successors of all nations, viewing that policy in its influence upon the happiness and improvement of mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF JAVA CONTINUED.

Petty States which sprung up from the Convulsions occasioned by the Introduction of Mahomedanism.—Damak.—Pajang.—Rise of the Dynasty of Mataram.—Kyayi Agăng Pamanahan, the founder of the Dynasty.—Reign of Panămbahan Senopati, at Mataram.—He Conquers the Eastern Districts, as far as Pati.—Anecdotes of this Prince's reign.—Death of Panămbahan Senapati.—Panămbahan Krapyak ascends the throne.—Conquers the Province of Pronorogo.—Suppresses various Rebellions.—Remarkable events in his reign.—Reign of Sultan Adi Mataram, usually called the Great Sultan.—Conquers the whole of the Eastern Districts, Cheribon, and the Sunda Districts, down to Jacatra.—Receives missions from Borneo and Sumatra.—Sends an embassy to Celebes.—Anecdotes of his reign.—Predatory incursion into the Eastern Districts.—Massacre of the Inhabitants of the Sunda District of Sumădang.—Sultan of Mataram poisons the waters of the river of Surabaya.—Chiefs of the Eastern Districts combine against the People of Mataram, and are defeated.—Generosity of the Sultan on the occasion.—Desperate and gallant action of the Prince of Pămakasan in Madura.—Story of the heroic Princess, Wandan Sari.—Execution of the spiritual Chief of Giri.—Remarkable natural events during this reign.—Sultan Tăgalarum succeeds

to the throne of Mataram.—Is an abominable Tyrant.—His whole reign characterized by a series of Rebellions.—He is finally driven from his throne, and dies in his flight to Tăgal—Principal incidents of his reign.—Story of the Rebellion of the Pangeran Alit.—The Priests of Mataram, with their families, amounting to six thousand persons, massacred by the Sultan in cold blood.

THE portion of the history of Java contained in this chapter, extends from the establishment of the Mahomedan religion, to that of the influence of Europeans in the destinies of the native inhabitants, and is the most curious and instructive branch of Javanese story.

For a hundred years, or from the establishment of the Mahomedan religion, to the rise of the dynasty of Mataram, the island of Java was divided into a number of petty states, governed by the successors of the first missionaries, and disturbed by their ambition and intrigues. We possess no authentic and detailed record of their transactions, and if we did, they would be unworthy of relation. A rapid sketch is all that can interest the European reader, and this I shall proceed to give.

The principal of these states were, Damak, Cheribon, Bantam, Jakatra, and Pajang. Madura, and the eastern end of Java, were independent, and split into still more inconsiderable principalities.

Raden Patah, the principal agent in the subversion of Hinduism to the eastern end of the island, was raised to sovereign authority by the voice of his followers. It deserves to be remarked, as a proof of the great influence of the Mahomedan priesthood, that, during the first century of Mahomedanism, they exerted, very generally, the high prerogative of choosing the sovereign. The government of the *eastern districts* was in fact elective, in a hierarchy, until it became hereditary in the family of *Mataram*.

The place which *Raden Patah* chose for the seat of government was *Dămak*, on the north coast of the island, and about twelve miles from the modern city of Samarang. Three princes of this dynasty in all reigned at *Damak*, during a period of about sixty years; and their authority seems to have extended over a considerable portion of the east and centre of the island.

This partial monarchy was farther divided on the death of the last prince, when the most considerable state which arose out of it was *Pajang*, a central province of the island, to which was subject several of the surrounding districts. This government fell to a chief named *Joko Tingkir*, on whom was eventually conferred the title of sultan by the spiritual chief of *Gărsik*. *Pajang* was subverted by the chief of the family of *Mataram*, after it had existed about forty years. Its destruction

is calculated to have happened in the year 1578 of Christ. The stories of *Cheribon*, *Bantam*, and *Jakatra*, which continued hereditarily for a much longer period in the families of the first missionaries, will be briefly told in another place.

Towards the latter end of the fifteenth century of our time, the richest and most extensive part of the island, the central and eastern provinces, whatever might have been its condition earlier, was broken down into a great number of independent states. In *Madura*, alone, there were three independent principalities, and in *Java* at least eight. The fortunate family of *Mataram* now commenced a successful career of conquest, and during the reigns of four princes, but chiefly of the first three, and in less than a century, subjugated the whole island except Bantam, assuming in complete sovereignty the whole of the eastern and central part, reducing Cheribon to the condition of a vassal kingdom, and exacting homage from Jakatra. The detail of this conquest is preserved with tolerable fidelity, and as it illustrates the character of the people, and presents a curious picture of manners and society, I shall be tempted to offer it to the reader at more length than its importance would otherwise seem to merit.

Kyayi Agang Pamanahan, the first of the family of *Mataram* that rose to consequence, was chief of the dependent province of Mataram, under the

Sultan of *Pajang*. He is said to have been the fourth in lineal descent from Browijoyo, the last Hindu sovereign of *Mojopahit*, a genealogy, in all likelihood, fabricated in after times to impose on the credulity of the people, by tracing the origin of the family to a source which insured their veneration and affection. This person was succeeded in the administration of the province by his son, the first sovereign of the family, who is best known by the title of *Senopati*, or military commander, conferred upon him by the *Sultan* of *Pajang*, in return for which he poisoned his benefactor, and by a course of intrigue, too often repeated in the history of man to demand a new recital, deprived his family of their patrimony, added Pajang to Mataram, and assumed the sovereign title of *Panămbahan*.*

(A. S. 1508, A. D. 1586.)—The principal object of the reign of this prince was the subjugation of the eastern districts, and in this he succeeded as far as *Pati*, towards the north coast, and *Kadiri* towards the south. He made predatory incursions as far as *Pasuruhan*, but no permanent conquest. Of the manner in which the war was conducted, I shall offer a few specimens. The *prince* of *Mataram* having made an expedition to the east, was opposed by the confederated chiefs

* Literally "the object of an obeisance."

of Madura and Java, and used the following stratagem to disengage the two first of the confederates that opposed his progress, the princes of *Madiyon* and *Pronorogo*. He selected a beautiful woman, of the highest rank, and sent her as his ambassador to the prince of *Madiyon*, who, by the way, affected the habits and life of a devotee. The chief of *Mataram* called him of *Madiyon* father, which is equivalent, by the customs of Java, to tendering submission, and acknowledging dependance or inferiority. The lady was particularly instructed to resist no solicitation of the prince. She obeyed his instructions, and by her blandishments seduced him from his alliance. The *Senopati* meanwhile attacked the prince of *Pronorogo*, and surprised him with two hundred chosen horse, led by himself in person, after which success, without farther ceremony, he fell upon the prince of *Madiyon*, and obtained an easy victory. This chieftain, flying from his palace, with his family, left his favourite daughter behind him, as a decoy to his antagonist, and this lady was afterwards married to the prince of *Mataram*.

The prince of Mataram having attacked the province of *Pasuruhan*, the chief of that district would have submitted, but was dissuaded by a refugee from *Blambangan*, a chief called *Adipati Kaniten*, to whom he gave the command of his troops. This person having challenged the chief

of an advanced party of the Mataram forces, who, unknown to him, was the *Senopati* himself, he was worsted in the single combat which ensued, and thrown wounded from his horse. The conqueror, without offering him any further injury, directed a *lame mare* to be brought, on which, bare backed, and with a miserable bridle, he mounted his discomfited rival, and in this plight dismissed him to his chief, to tell the story of his disgrace. It is necessary to explain, that, in Java, it is considered a disgrace to ride a mare; none but the meanest of the people using mares for the saddle. The troops of *Pasuruhan*, after the loss of their leader, took to flight, and the chief of that province, to make his peace with the victor, put the wounded *Kaniten* to death, by pouring melted tin down his throat, and transmitted the dead body, with gifts and proffers of submission, to the *Senopati*.

This prince died in the year of Salivana 1523, leaving the reputation of the bravest and most intrepid, though not the wisest, of the princes of Java. He owed a large portion of his success to the counsels of his uncle *Mondoroko*, by whose wisdom and prudence his ardour and impatience were tempered and restrained.

(A. S. 1508, A. D. 1686.)—In the first year of the reign of this prince, there was, say the native writers, a dreadful eruption of a volcano, accompanied by showers of ashes, and violent earth-

quakes, which terrified the inhabitants of Java. This was the same eruption to which the Portuguese were witnesses, and which, by their account, hid the sun for three whole days, and destroyed ten thousand souls.

(A. S. 1523, A. D. 1601.)—The Senopati was succeeded by his second son, *Mas Jolang*, called after his death *Panămbahan Krapyak*, from the spot where he died, in conformity with the universal practice of the Indian islanders. This prince, less active and ambitious than his predecessor, added but the single province of *Pronorogo* to his dominions. He was chiefly occupied, indeed, in a contention for authority with the prince of *Pugar*, his elder brother, and in suppressing a variety of those rebellions which are naturally incident to a dominion acquired by violence, and maintained without skill.

In the year 1524 of Salivana, (1602,) the Javanese writers record a total eclipse of the sun.

(A. S 1535, A. D. 1613.)—The eldest son of the last prince succeeded his father, taking the name of *Adi Mataram*. He and his son alone took the Arabic title of Sultan, their predecessors contenting themselves with the humbler appellation of Panămbahan, and their successors taking the spiritual distinction of Susunan. In Javanese history he is called *Sultan Agung*, or the *Great Sultan*, a title which he undoubtedly

deserves, for he was not only the greatest conqueror, but the best prince of whom any mention is made in Javanese story. In a reign of thirty-three years, he conquered the whole of the eastern districts, including the principality of Blambangan, at the extreme east, Cheribon, and the whole of the Sunda countries, except Jacatra and Bantam. His disgrace and discomfiture in his wars with the Europeans will be mentioned in another place. His fame spread to Celebes, where he sent an embassy, as well as to Sumatra and Borneo. The *Adipati*, or chief of the Javanese settlement of *Palembang*, in the former island, paid his respects in person, and the Javanese colony of *Banjarmasin*, in the latter country, sent a mission. These honours from distant islands, and the homage which the chief of Mataram received from many states of Java, had their origin as much in the terror of his name, as in any experience of his real power, for sovereign power has on the mind of the Indian islanders the mysterious influence which religion has on the minds of all barbarians, arising from the same causes, fear, ignorance, and superstition.

From a few examples of the mode in which this best of Javanese princes conducted his wars and government, we have an opportunity of estimating the character of the society over which he ruled.

The very year that the Sultan ascended the

throne, he sent a large force for the conquest of the eastern districts, which ended in a mere predatory expedition, no permanent conquest having been effected. In this affair, the country was laid waste, the villages burned, and the cattle and inhabitants carried off, and divided as booty among the troops.

Sometimes the men were put to the sword, instead of being led into captivity, but the latter was invariably the fate of the women.

In the 27th year of his reign, the chief of the Sunda district of *Sumădang* revolted. The Sultan was highly incensed, and his orders were, *to exterminate the males, without sparing the children*, and to carry off the women into captivity. These orders were obeyed,—no resistance was offered, and in that poor and ill-peopled district, a thousand persons were massacred.

One of the most powerful and obstinate of the Sultan's enemies was the *Pangeran*, or prince of *Surabaya*, The Sultan, in the year of Salivana 1545, (A. D. 1623,) sent a powerful force to subdue him, and the following is the stratagem by which the purpose was effected. The commander halted at *Japan*, on the river of *Surabaya*, thirty miles above the town of that name. Here he dammed up the river, diverting a portion of the stream. Into the stream, thus diminished, he threw dead carcases, putrid vegetables, and, above all, the a-

bundant and noisome fruit of the *aren palm*, with the view of poisoning the water, and compelling the inhabitants of *Surabaya* to submission, a consequence which, either from the real or imaginary effects of the measure, soon followed.

The chief of Surabaya having submitted, sent his son to Mataram to make his submission. On this occasion, the young prince, with his companions and domestics, his wives, and all the females of his family, were, say the native writers, according to custom, brought into the public presence of the Sultan, *bound in cords*.

We may glean a few facts now and then, of a more favourable character. In the year 1537 of Salivana, (A. D. 1615,) the ambitious projects of the family of Mataram raised against them a host of enemies, in a confederation of the princes of *Madura*, and of the eastern part of Java. Encouraged by the response of the spiritual chief of Giri, whom it was customary to consult as an oracle, they marched in great numbers to the west, with the hope of subverting Mataram. Ignorant of the country, and improvident, they had not reached Pajang when their stock of provisions was expended, and they were compelled to feed on wild roots and the bark of trees, which engendered fatal disorders that carried off great numbers. In this condition they were attacked by the Sultan of Mataram and utterly defeated. Among the slain was the chief of

Japan, a man of great gallantry. At sight of the dead body of his enemy, the Sultan exclaimed, with a generosity which is commonly a stranger to such a state of society on such an occasion,—"This is, indeed, the body of a true soldier, let it be duly honoured and buried with distinction;" and, turning to the *Adipati* of *Pajang*, whose fidelity was suspected, he farther eulogized the open and honourable hostility of the fallen chief.

In 1545. Salivana, (A. D. 1623,) a powerful force was sent to subdue *Madura*, and the conquest was finally effected, but not till after a brave struggle on the part of the chiefs of that island, then divided into five states. The Madurese are reputed a braver and hardier race than their more civilized neighbours the Javanese. On this occasion the prince of *Pamakasan*, incensed against the invaders of his country, hoped to turn the fortunes of the war, by depriving the enemy of so skilful a leader as the commander of the Javanese army, *Jayo Saponto*; and, with this view, accompanied by a few determined followers, he entered the Javanese camp in the dead of the night, made his way to the quarters of the adverse chief, and, mortally wounding him, effected his retreat, but not until he himself had received a fatal stab, of which he expired the following day. This accident threw the troops of Mataram into consternation, and for a time arrested the progress of the war.

I shall give but one other anecdote of this reign, and chiefly because it affords a curious illustration of the female character in the highest rank of life. A similar example has not, indeed, been often afforded in Java, though there the women claim a degree of equality with the stronger sex, not often seen in the east, but frequent instances are afforded of female heroism among the more warlike, ferocious, and uncivilized tribes of Celebes. In the year 1550 of Salivana, (A. D. 1628,) the Sultan attacked *Giri*, the residence of the spiritual chief of that name, and the descendant of one of the most conspicuous of the first apostles of Mahomedanism, and subdued it after an obstinate struggle. He was probably induced to disregard the holy character of this person, from resentment for the advice he had given to the eastern chiefs in their invasion of Mataram.

The command of the troops for this enterprise was entrusted to the prince of Surabaya, now affianced to the Sultan by a marriage with his daughter the princess *Wandan Sari*. The priest of *Giri* made a gallant defence, and in one rencontre defeated his adversary, whose fortunes were retrieved by the spirit of his heroic consort. This princess presented herself before the troops, accoutered as a warrior, spoke of the bravery of her ancestors, harangued the soldiers, distributed gifts to them, and put herself at their head. Encouraged by her ex-

ample, the troops renewed the attack, captured the temple and mausoleum of *Giri*, and took the *Susanan* and his family prisoners. The daughters of Javanese princes, when married to subjects, assume a tone, and insist on privileges, unknown to their sex in the east. The husband, in such a case, frequently terms the wife *mistress*, addresses her in the language appropriated to ceremony, and cannot marry a second wife or keep a concubine. The *Ratu Wandan* claimed and maintained this ascendancy over *her* husband.

The following natural calamities are recorded by the Javanese writers to have happened during this reign. In the year 1536, (A. D. 1614,) the island was enveloped in a cloud of ashes, which occasioned a total darkness. This had its origin in one of the volcanos of the neighbouring islands.

In the year 1563, (A. D. 1641,) a vast number of lives were lost by the falling of a portion of the mountain of *Adiksa*.

In the year of Salivana 1566, (A. D. 1644,) the country was afflicted with a dreadful epidemic, which swept off a great number of people.

The *Sultan Tagal-arum* succeeded his father in the year of Salivana 1568, (A. D. 1646,) and reigned three and thirty years.

The records of Asiatic despotism, so fruitful in crime and villany, hardly afford a superior to this Javanese prince. He was, in short, a cruel and ferocious madman, without the shadow of a virtue

to redeem his character. It is unnecessary to add, after this, that numerous insurrections took place. His own son-in-law, a native of Madura, named *Truna Jaya*, abetted by his son and the heir to his throne, revolted in the year 1595 of Salivana, (A. D. 1672,) and this rebellion terminated in the conquest of the whole of the eastern districts, and eventually in that of the centre, the expulsion of the tyrant from his throne, and the seizure of his capital. In his flight to *Tagal* after this event, he was taken ill and died on his road.

I shall proceed briefly to narrate a few of the incidents of this reign, by which we shall be enabled to appreciate the character of the sovereign, and of the society over which he presided.

Shortly after his accession to the throne, the *Pangeran Alit*, his younger brother, entered into a conspiracy against him. The principal instigator of this transaction was a noble of the name of *Sing-singan*. The Sultan being duly apprised of his danger, had the noble secretly put to death. On the following day, when the young prince appeared in *the presence*, the first spectacle which offered itself to him, was the bloody head of his friend suspended from the Sultan's own hand by the hair. The Sultan indignantly threw it down at his brother's feet, who, to make his peace, and save his life, began with a baseness equal to the ferocity of the other, to insult the head by wounding and

disfiguring the face with his dagger. This scene of wild and savage barbarity did not end here. The young prince retired from the presence with dissembled resentment, and refusing compliance with the Sultan's order to surrender his accomplices, he prepared for resistance. The chief of Madura entreated the youth to desist from his rash enterprise, and in doing this, embraced his feet according to the custom of the country. The prince put an end to his entreaties and his life by drawing his *kris*, and mortally wounding him in the throat, as he thus lay supplicating him. The retainers of the chief of Madura, who were witnesses to this transaction, rushed upon the prince, and sacrificed him to their fury and resentment.

The Sultan hearing of the loss of his brother, feigned a deep sorrow, accused himself of his death, unsheathed his dagger, and wounded himself in the arm, as an expiation for the share he had in his death.

Connected with this transaction is another of much greater atrocity. The Sultan, suspecting the priests of Mataram to be implicated in the conspiracy of *Pangeran Alit*, directed registers of them to be formed, and on pretence of conferring upon those of the capital some distinctions, had them assembled, when, upon a concerted signal, an indiscriminate slaughter was commenced, and six thousand,

including women and children, were thus butchered in cold blood!

One farther example of the atrocities of this abominable tyrant will be enough. He had married in his father's lifetime the daughter of the prince of Surabaya, and by her had a prince, now apparent heir to the throne. Of this prince, and of his father-in-law, he seems early to have entertained a deep-rooted jealousy. The young prince having fallen in love with a young woman of Surabaya residing at Mataram, applied to his grandfather to put him in possession of her person. But the Sultan himself had unfortunately also felt a passion for the same lady. Notwithstanding this, the chief of Surabaya, willing to gratify his grandson, used his influence, and obtained her for the young prince, to whom she was accordingly married. The Sultan, when he heard of this transaction, was incensed to madness, and directed the immediate execution of the chief of Surabaya, his wife, children, and grandchildren, to the number of 40 persons. There is one part of the story, which, for the credit of human nature, it were better to refuse our belief to, had it not been too well authenticated. The Sultan ordered the young prince and his bride to appear before him, and there commanded him to stab her with his own hand; and this lover obeyed the mandate!

After this transaction, the Sultan gave a loose to all the extravagance of his tyranny, and massacred without scruple, and without provocation, the first persons of the land. I have already remarked, that fear, and not love, is the source of the political as well as the religious creed of the Javanese; and the respect still shown to the memory of this monster is a signal proof of it, for his tomb at *Tagal* is not considered as less than the shrine of a saint, and often receives the pious visits and oblations of the present race of inhabitants!

CHAPTER V.

SEQUEL OF JAVANESE HISTORY.

Retrospect of Portuguese History, as immediately connected with that of Java.—Of Dutch History, and Reflections on the policy pursued by Europeans.—Reign of the Susunan Mangkorat.—Rebellion of Truna Jaya, and Invasion of the Macassars.—Mangkorat calls in the Dutch to his assistance.—Story of Surapati.—Singular incident at Japara.—Tragical story of Truna Jaya.—Tragical story of Sukro, son of the first minister.—Reign of Mangkorat Mas.—Rebellion of his uncle, the Pangeran Pugar, and his dethronement.—Murder of the Chief of Pronorogo.—Reign of Pakubuono.—Jayeng Rono, Prince of Surabaya, assassinated by the Susunan, at the instigation of the Dutch.—Rebellion of Joyo Puspito.—Reflections on the conduct of the Dutch.—Account of the Impostors called Kraman.—Story of Mas Dono, one of these.—Reign of Susunan Prabu.—His reign a series of rebellions.—The reign of Susunan Sedo Laweyan.—Susunan joins the Chinese who had escaped from the massacre of Batavia.—They jointly attack Samarang.—The Susunan treacherously quits the Chinese, and allies himself again with the Dutch.—Chinese make a Susunan of their own, and drive their late ally from his throne.—Chinese defeated and the Susunan restored.—Narrative of some of the principal events of this reign.—Treacherous attack upon the Dutch Fortress at Cartasura, and Massacre of the Prisoners.—Atrocious circumstances connected with the secession

of the Javanese from the Chinese alliance.—A mock battle fought between the Javanese and Chinese to hoodwink the Dutch.—Specimen of the correspondence of two hostile Javanese Chiefs.—Character displayed by the Chinese in the war which they conducted in Java.—Reign of Paku-buono the third.—Rebellion of Mangkubumi.—Of Mangku-nagoro.—Character of these rebellions.—The Javanese Empire split into two separate monarchies.—Establishment of Yugyakarta.—A small principality bestowed on Manghu-nagoro.—Internal tranquillity restored in Java, which has now lasted sixty years.

To this chapter, which gives the sequel of Javanese history, and which commences with the period when the Dutch power began to be felt in the Javanese counsels, and to influence the fortunes of the people, it will be necessary to premise a brief retrospect of the circumstances and character of the European connection, as it more immediately relates to the island of Java. The more general narrative of European affairs will be related in subsequent chapters.

The Portuguese arrived in Java in the year 1511,* the same year in which they conquered Malacca, two years after their first appearance in the seas of the Archipelago, and thirty-three after

* Albuquerque sent embassies from Malacca to the princes of Java, but neither the names of those princes, nor of their kingdoms, have been handed down to us.

the Mahomedan religion had assumed the ascendancy in the island. The immediate successors of the first apostles of Islam still ruled the country, though it would appear that many of the inhabitants continued to follow their ancient worship.* It was not a moment propitious to the introduction of a new power, or the introduction of a new religion. The Portuguese were, besides, fully occupied on the continent of India, and the western portions of the Archipelago, and were at

* The Portuguese, on their first arrival, are said to have treated with a Hindu sovereign in the western end of the island. In the voyage of Oliver Noort round the world, he touched in 1601 at the eastern end of Java. The narrative, according to Purchas, has the following strange passage, which does not occur in the narrative in the "Collection of voyages which contributed to the formation of an East Indian Company."—"On the twentie-eight they came to Jortan, and heard of Holland ships at Bantam. Heere they bought mace and provision. Jortan hath a thousand houses all of timber. The king was absent at Passaruan, five years before he had besieged Balamboa, and destroyed the king with all his kindred. He is also king of Sorbay, a citie not far distant, all which four cities are Mahometan, and very rigid in that *swinish superstition. The Pagodes and idols argue permission of Ethnicke and ancienter Indian rights.*"—Pilgrims, Book ii. p. 77. The Dutch voyagers may have been deceived by the number of ancient temples of Hindu worship, which must have existed at a period little more than a century after the subversion of Hinduism.

the moment anxious to be possessed of the country of the spices. They seem never to have attempted any conquest in Java, and to have confined themselves solely to the affairs of commerce, which they conducted chiefly at Bantam and Panarukan. In the native annals, no notice whatever is taken of them.

The Dutch arrived in Java in the year 1595, eighty-four years after the Portuguese, and 117 after the establishment of the Mahomedan religion. This was during the last years of the reign of the first prince of the house of Mataram, the *Panămbahan Senopati.* Cheribon, Bantam, and Jacatra, were then independent, and Madura, Surabaya, and the maritime provinces east of it, were still unsubdued. It was during the four and twenty years which elapsed from their arrival, until the foundation of Batavia, that the family of Mataram was chiefly aggrandized by the conquest of the best part of the island; but the probability is, that a number of years must have passed, before the ignorant and gross traders of the sixteenth century understood and noted the political movements of a great country, especially as the residence of the more intelligent portion of them was always momentary and uncertain.

The object of the European adventurers of those times was purely mercenary and commercial. The plunder of the east, for it does not deserve the

name of commerce, was their object. To give an equitable price for the commodity they purchased, or to demand no more than a reasonable profit, never entered into their minds. They considered the natives of those countries as fair game, and drove a trade, in short, in which the simplicity, ignorance, and weakness of the inhabitants of the country, were but poorly opposed to the superior intelligence, more enlarged experience, and, above all, to the power and violence of the European.

On these most inauspicious principles commenced the intercourse between the Dutch and Javanese. It would have been far more beneficial to the latter, had the Europeans with a great force at once conquered their country. Ultimately they did so, after two centuries of misery and tedious suffering. In the first case, the European conquerors would have mixed with the native population, instructed them in the arts and civilization of Europe, and the interests of both must have been finally assimilated. In the last, the interests of the two parties have been at direct variance. The tributary party, distrusting every thing European, have neither adopted the improvements, nor the religion of their masters ; and, to say the least of it, are at this day not a whit more civilized or improved than when the connection commenced more than two centuries back.

From 1595 to 1612, the Dutch traded chiefly

with the kingdom of Bantam, then the principal emporium of the east for pepper, in those times the staple of European commerce.

In 1612 they removed to Jacatra, obtaining permission from the prince of that place to settle there. Here they conducted their trade peaceably for five or six years, but at last broke with the prince who had afforded them protection, subdued his country, and built Batavia in the year of Salivana 1551, (A. D. 1619,) on the ruins of his capital. It was in this year that the Sultan of Mataram, incensed at the piratical conduct of the Dutch at Japara which they had destroyed, and their violence and usurpations at Jacatra, sent on the invitation of the Pangeran of the latter place, a numerous force levied from almost every province of Java to expel them from the country. The result of this expedition, probably the most numerous and powerful which Java had ever seen, consisting of troops accustomed to conquer, and acting under the orders of a victorious monarch, will give us a just impression of the military character of the Javanese. They were defeated by a handful of Europeans,—after three assaults were unable to capture an ill constructed and half finished redoubt, and, losing the best part of their numbers chiefly by famine and sickness, at last retired discomfited and disgraced.

Upon this occasion they arrested the progress of the conquests of the kings of Mataram, and so far

may be said to have influenced the domestic politics of the Javanese; yet without their interference, the temporary empire of Mataram was about to tumble to pieces in the subsequent reign, through the unsupportable tyranny and misgovernment of the succeeding prince, as we have already seen. —A. S. 1551. (A. D. 1629.)—They had made their peace with the Great Sultan, and sent a mission to Mataram, and took some share in the disputes of his vicious successor against his subjects; but it was not until A. S. 160[illegible], in the reign of the Susuhunan Mangkorat, that they took a great, and finally a leading part in the affairs of Java.

When that prince succeeded his father, the country was throughout in a state of anarchy and rebellion. The Maduresе Truna Jaya, aided by a band of fugitives from Celebes, at first got possession of the eastern and central districts, including the capital; but, from the latter, he was driven by the younger son of the late Sultan, *Pangeran Pugar*, who, taking possession of the seat of government, set up the standard of independence. The legitimate heir, who took the spiritual distinction of *Susunan*, called in the Dutch, and a large force under Admiral Speelman having been sent to his assistance, he was, after a tedious struggle, placed upon the throne at Cartasura, the seat of government having been changed from Mataram. He died in the year A. J. 1627, (A. D. 1703,) after

a troubled reign of twenty-six years. He is one of the most respectable of the Javanese princes, and enjoys a high reputation among his countrymen. The most remarkable incidents of his reign are his alliance with the Dutch, and the rebellion of Surapati. I shall give a brief account of the character of both these, and add a few anecdotes of his reign, which will assist in giving us a farther insight into the character of the people of Java and their government.

What is most remarkable in the character of the political connection of the Dutch with the Javanese, is the perpetual recourse of the former to artifice and finesse, when the object of their policy would appear more easily and speedily accomplished by a manly, direct, and ingenuous conduct. Although they had the earliest experience of the weakness and unskilfulness of the natives, and of their immeasurable inferiority to Europeans, every enterprise they undertook against them was magnified beyond all reasonable proportion, and marked by a singular timidity throughout, by a timidity which constantly led them to prefer a policy of expedients to measures of prompt energy, resolution, and good faith, and which too often seduced them into acts of the most abandoned perfidy. It would be unjust to throw the odium of this conduct upon the national character of the Dutch, whose republican integrity, in the days of their glory, is the

just theme of applause. It is clearly to be ascribed to the peculiar and unfavourable circumstances under which they were placed.

The first Dutch adventurers to the East were a set of rapacious traders, who found themselves unexpectedly called upon to exercise the functions of politicians and sovereigns. Unused to these offices, without agents who could be entrusted with the execution of any great or bold undertaking, and having, instead of a regular or disciplined force, a few half-disciplined marines and sailors, from their commercial navies, we can be no longer surprised to find those who were conscious of the want of real strength, constantly resorting to subtlety and intrigue. The natural consequences of this policy were protracted wars, financial difficulties, waste of human life, mutual hatred and distrust between them and the natives, inevitable ruin and destruction to the country, and misery to its inhabitants. This picture applies to by far the greater portion of the two centuries of Dutch rule in Java.

The rebellion of *Surapati*, by which name this remarkable adventurer is best known, is one of the most singular which the history of any people affords. This person was, in short, a slave, who rose, by the force of his natural talents, to the rank of a sovereign prince. He was brought from Bali when seven years of age, among the crowd of slaves who were annually imported into Batavia from that island, was purchased

by a Dutchman of the name of Hese, whose favour and confidence he gained, and abused, by an intrigue with his natural daughter, by a native woman. The slave was detected, corporally punished, and placed in the public stocks; from whence, with sixty of his countrymen in a similar state of durance, he effected his escape, massacring the centinels and guards of the prison. After a series of extraordinary adventures, in the vicinity of Batavia, in the Prayangan mountains, and at Cheribon, he proceeded eastward, and, trusting to the secret hatred of the Susuhunan to the Dutch, threw himself upon his generosity, A. J. 1608, (A. D. 1684.) The Susuhunan, disgusted at the ignominious thraldom in which he was himself held, countenanced Surapati in secret, and when his person was demanded, evaded giving him up, upon the plea of respecting the laws of hospitality, but pretended to give leave to seize him in any part of his dominions. The Dutch, to effect this latter object, sent to Cartasura a force of a thousand men, in addition to the troops already there. Surapati had ingratiated himself with the first minister, and obtained this chief's daughter in marriage. The Susunan directed the minister openly to espouse his cause, and, in the event of their being overpowered, ordered his brother, the Pangeran Pugar, to render farther assistance. An action commenced in front of the palace, in the great square, where the Dutch force was overpowered,

and nearly the whole, with their commander, Tak, destroyed, for the greater part of the native inhabitants of the city fell upon them. Surapati, after the battle, retired, by the advice of the Susuhunan, to the eastward; and, seizing upon the district of Pasuruhan, he in time added to it those of Bangil, Probolingo, Japan, Wirosobo, and others, which he continued to govern well for more than twenty years, when he lost his life in a drawn battle fought between him and the Dutch in the Javanese year 1631, (A. D. 1707.) He was unquestionably the greatest and most extraordinary person that the history and revolutions of Java present to our observation; one, in short, of those hardy and intrepid geniuses which are of rare occurrence in any age or state of society.

The following well authenticated anecdote affords a singular picture of native manners, and of the conduct of the Dutch. In the early period of the Dutch authority, their principal establishment *to the east* was at Japara. Here a quarrel having ensued between a Dutchman and a native of the place, the chief *Martopuro* considering the former in fault, had him punished, according to a common practice of the country, by streaking his face with lime and turmeric, and thus exposing him to the ridicule of the populace in the common market place. The Dutch chief communicated on the subject with the authorities at Batavia, and the life of Martopuro was demanded as an expiation for his

insolence. The Susuhunan hardly daring to refuse compliance with the demands of the Dutch, but at the same time heartily inclined in secret to thwart them, sent word to Martopuro privately, that if he would resist the Dutch as Surapati had done, his life should not only be spared, but he should in secret have *his* assistance. The first minister, with other chiefs of rank, were accordingly despatched to Japara to see this project carried into effect. Martopuro at first entered into the views of the prince, but his courage failing him, the emissaries of the Susuhunan determined upon giving him up. Being invited into the fort, a Dutch officer, under pretext of presenting him with a glass of wine, snatched his *kris* from the scabbard. Martopuro perceiving this, attempted to make his escape, but was seized and *krised* on the spot, and his body, at the instigation of the Javanese chiefs, torn to pieces and thrown to the dogs! They made an offer of the disposal of his wives and property to the Dutch chief, and the Susuhunan, indignant at his cowardice, issued a peremptory order, forbidding all to give shelter or protection to his children and relations.

In point of atrocity this acts yields to the story of the fate of Truna Jaya, which has, indeed, I am happy to say, no parallel in Javanese history, and few, it is to be hoped, in that of any people who have made such progress in the useful arts of life. It affords, indeed, an incredible contrast to

the benignity and kindness of the native character, when not goaded by the spirit of revenge, or debauched by the exercise of despotic power. Truna Jaya, after being defeated by the Dutch and the Susunan, fled to the mountains of *Antang*, where he lay concealed with a few followers, until, abandoned by most of these, and reduced by want, he was glad to make overtures of surrender. These were accepted, and his own uncle, the chief of Madura, with a Dutch officer, sent to beguile him by fresh assurances. He appeared before the Susunan bound in cords, with his wives the prince's own sisters, and the rest of his family. They threw themselves at the Susunan's feet imploring pardon, which he feigned to give them, going the length of promising the captive preferment. He directed Truna Jaya to retire and clothe himself in a decent garment. When this was done, the prisoner returned into the presence. The Susunan now upbraided him with his treachery and rebellion, and directed one of the women in waiting to bring him an unsheathed kris, which he particularized by name. The tragedy which ensued is related by the Javanese annalist in the following words: "My *brother* Truna Jaya, (said the Susunan,) when I was at Tagal I made a vow that this my kris, *Blaber*,* should never be sheath-

* Spears, cannon, and krises, are frequently particularized

ed until sheathed in your breast. On these words the nobles brought Truna Jaya to the foot of the throne, from whence the prince rising, came near him, and stabbed him to the heart; the kris passing through and through under the shoulder-blade, and the blood gushing out in a torrent. Anto Gopo, an officer of the palace, repeated the blow, and all the nobles present followed his example, leaving the body of Truna Jaya thoroughly mangled. The prince rising again from his throne, exclaimed, in a loud voice,—Let his heart be devoured. The chiefs rushed upon the body again, and tearing out the heart, divided it into fragments of a nail's-breadth, and devoured it accordingly. The head they severed from the body, and laid it at the foot of the throne."

It appears, farther, on the same authority, that three of the nobles entering even more fully than the rest into the infernal spirit which actuated their sovereign, smeared their naked bodies all over with the blood of the prisoner. The head was carried in procession before the Susunan, and when the savage retired at night *to rest*, he is reported to have used it as a mat to wipe his feet upon.

During the scene in the palace, the Dutch general officers and party were present, but asto-

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by names. The kris here named was an ancient heirloom of the royal family, and is still preserved at Surakarta.

nished and appalled at the frightful scene which was transacted before them, they wanted the courage or magnanimity to interfere, though it was acknowledged that their honour was pledged for the safety of Truna Jaya.

I shall give one other anecdote of this reign, chiefly because it affords an illustration, unusually authentic, of the effects of eastern despotism, and is, at the same time, connected with the state of domestic manners among the people of whom I am rendering an account.

The Susunan had married his eldest son and successor to the daughter of his brother the *Pangeran Pugar*. The parties were soon compelled to separate on account of the ill conduct of the husband, a prince of brutal character and manners. The princess, thus neglected, formed an attachment to *Sukro*, son of the first minister, a youth of agreeable manners and handsome person. The criminal connection was in time discovered through an intercepted letter from the lover to his mistress. The Susunan was highly incensed at the discovery, and the *Pangeran Pugar*, to avert from himself and his family the effects of his resentment, resolved *to take the life* of his daughter. He, accordingly, ordered his *seven* sons into his presence, and informed them of the necessity of their becoming the instruments of taking the life of their sister, to avert the wrath of their uncle and sove-

reign. They naturally refused compliance, but at length yielded, on his threatening to punish their disobedience by the *solemn malediction of a father!* The place chosen for the execution was the prince's own garden. The young princes having communicated to their sister the fatal orders with which they were charged, she received them with calmness, and only begged for a few moments to bathe and perfume herself. When this ceremony was over, her mother and female relations were ordered to withdraw, and the gate of the garden was locked. A veil was thrown over the princess to conceal the bloody office, and the brothers, after receiving her last injunctions, drew the fatal cord. When the garden door was opened, and the female attendants admitted, the princes were seen viewing the dead body, and awakened, at the sight of it, to all the horrors of the tragedy they had acted, while they expressed their grief with that loud, unreserved, and passionate declamation, which, on occasions of extreme sorrow, is constantly exhibited in the lower stages of society.

In the mean time, the life of the lover was loudly demanded by the Susunan. The father, who loved him tenderly, permitted the feelings of nature to supersede the servile allegiance of a Javanese, and was half inclined to resist. He was, however, finally persuaded to submission, and went into *the presence*, for between unlimited submis-

sion, and open rebellion, there is in such a state of society no medium. As soon as he made his appearance he was seized, deprived of his kris, an unfailing and necessary precaution, and, according to a frequent practice, confined *in a cage of bamboo*, until the safety of the royal family should be assured by the execution of his son. The young man, while this was passing, determined to sell his life dearly, and threw himself, with some desperate and determined retainers of the warlike tribe of the *Bugis*, within the inclosures of the minister's palace. The palace was immediately surrounded by the troops of the Susunan, demanding admission, but deterred from entering by force by the fierce aspect of those who occupied it. At length, the young man's own uncle having thrown away his arms, scaled the wall, and, presenting himself to his nephew, perfidiously tendered to him the Susunan's pardon, if he would but throw himself on his mercy, and dismiss his guards. Relying on the assurances of so near a relative, the *Bugis* retainers of the prince, were directed to retire, and the gates were thrown open, when the troops rushed in, and *Sukro* was secured and disarmed. Being, on this act of violence, persuaded of the inevitability of his fate, he only entreated, in compliance with a common Javanese superstition, that, in the manner of his death, his blood should not be shed. His uncle, accordingly, administered to him a dose

of poison, but the operation being slow, and the despot pressing his death by repeated messages from the palace, his relative seized him by the hair of the head, dragged him to the ground, and strangled him by treading on his neck!!

(A. J. 1627, A. D. 1704.)—The Susunan Mangkorat was succeeded by his son, who took the title of *Mangkorat Mas*, but he was not many months seated on the throne, when his tyrannical and violent conduct drove his uncle, the *Pangeran Pugar*, into rebellion. This prince fled to Samarang to the Dutch, and being countenanced by them, was installed Susunan under their auspices. The consequence was a civil war, which raged in the central and eastern districts of the island for four years, and which ended in the seizure of the person of Mangkorat Mas, by an act of treachery on the part of the Dutch, and his final banishment to Ceylon. Mangkorat Mas appears to have been a tyrant, voluptuous and wanton, equally destitute of talents and of prudence. His character, and probably that of many an eastern despot, is pourtrayed in the following anecdote of him, which is circumstantially related by the Javanese writers: In his flight from his capital, proceeding eastward to join the force of the gallant and intrepid Surapati, he halted in the distant and secluded district of Pronorogo, and here, unconscious that he had already virtually lost

his honour and his crown, he gave himself up to every illiberal pleasure. The *loyal* chief of the district, to gratify his prince, directed an inclosure to be constructed, and here assembled a variety of game, to afford him, at an easy rate, the diversion of shooting. The Susunan, with his family, men and women, repaired to the spot, and, taking up a bow and arrow, he began the sport by shooting a deer. The chief of Pronorogo, seeing the game fall, ran into the inclosure, and directed the priest to slaughter the animal according to the rites of the Mahomedan religion, that it might be legal food. But he was unused to the severe punctilio of a Javanese court, which permits no order, however trivial or indifferent, to be given in *the presence* without the *royal nod of assent*. The brutal and infatuated prince proceeded on the spot to punish this breach of etiquette, and, before the thousands, who were assembled, not forgetting the females of his own family, ordered the chief to be *emasculated*, and had the satisfaction to see his host faint before him from the pain of the operation. This act was too much even for the forbearance and slavish loyalty of the Javanese; and the relations of the chief of Pronorogo were preparing to retaliate, but the Susunan, receiving notice of their intentions, eluded their vengeance by a precipitate flight.

The Pangeran Pugar took the title of *Pakubuwono*, a name which has since descended to all

his successors. Counting from his accession, he reigned sixteen years, as he died in the A. J. 1643, A. D. 1718.

From the circumstances of his elevation, and his own character, this prince became a mere tool in the hands of the Dutch, and they used their influence neither with good policy nor discretion. Their conduct, equally marked by wanton cruelty, and imprudence in the affair of the chief of Surabaya, involved the country again in civil war. This noble, whose name was *Jayeng Rono*, was the confidential friend and adviser of the Susunan, and to his counsels, and those of the prince of Madura, he was chiefly indebted for his elevation. He had, however, incurred the displeasure of the Dutch, most probably from thwarting some of their ambitious designs, or being deficient in that flexibility and subserviency which was necessary to their purposes, and they demanded his life from the Susunan. There is something so sorrowful in the whole story, that I cannot forbear entering into the circumstances of it, as given by the native writers. The Susunan received the demand of the life of his friend with astonishment, exclaiming, as is reported, "I have already lost my right hand, (alluding to the death of the prince of Madura, which had just happened,) and they would also cut off my left." He hesitated to comply with the order, and yet

knew not how to resist it. The chief was absent in his government, and a messenger was instantly dispatched to inform him that the Dutch had demanded his life, but that if he chose to resist, he should be secretly abetted and assisted. The chief of Surabaya, clearly foreseeing that his resistance would involve the ruin, not only of himself, but of his whole family, came to the disinterested and noble resolution of sacrificing his own life to secure the safety of his friends and relations, and he proceeded forthwith to Cartasura, to submit to his fate. Here he had repeated audiences of the Susunan, who assured him of his thorough conviction of his innocence, promised to protect his family, and complied with his request to place his brother in his situation after his death. For a whole month he waited the arrival of *the warrant* for his execution, if it be allowable to use, on such an occasion, a word which belongs to the language *of justice*. At length it arrived from Batavia. The Susunan summoned the chief, who proceeded to the palace, clothed in white, the habit of resignation and devotion. His retainers were hindered from following him into the interior, and as the old man, for Jayeng Rono was much advanced in life, entered the outer court of the palace, he was met by the public executioners, who dispatched him on the spot. The most formidable and destructive rebellion which has ever characterized the annals of Java was the consequence.

Joyopuspito, brother to the deceased chief, accepted of his office, but only to use the influence which it afforded him for revenge. He subdued all the districts in his vicinity, called to his assistance the people of Bali, was joined by the Madurese, and by several rebel princes of the house of Mataram, so that this formidable insurrection only terminated by his death in the succeeding reign, after desolating the country for a great many years. The chief of Surabaya, in the many actions which he fought with the Dutch, and in all his proceedings, displayed so much enterprise, spirit, and conduct, that, but for the slender portion of European science opposed to him, he must have acquired the sovereignty of the island.

I shall take this opportunity of animadverting upon the policy pursued by the Dutch, not only on the present occasion, but in every war which they carried on in Java. They always permitted a beaten enemy to retreat unmolested, and *never* vigorously prosecuted any advantage. This either arose from ignorance and want of conduct, or from a crooked and mistaken policy, which led them to believe it the wisest conduct to reduce the native power, whether legitimate or insurgent, by expending its strength in a protracted contest. Probably both causes had their share. By the imagined refinement implied in the latter, nothing can be more certain than that they were exhausting their own finances, and

training the natives to a predatory and desultory warfare, the only one which a barbarous enemy, in a *close country*, can with any success conduct against a civilized and disciplined one, and that even in the event of success, they would acquire but a desolated and ruined conquest, hardly worth the occupation.

Oppression on the part of the government acting on the singular credulity and superstition of the people, gives rise in Java to those rebels, called, in the language of the country, *Kraman*, a word which literally means "an impostor or pretender to royalty." Whenever the country is in a state of anarchy, one or more of these persons is sure to appear. Sometimes they affect to be descended from some ancient line of sovereigns; at others, pretend to redress grievances, and now and then to propagate some absurd and nonsensical opinions, under the name of a new religion. Sometimes the individuals themselves are designing fanatics, at others, mere boys, or simple peasants, the puppets or tools of more designing and artful persons. Whoever they be, they are quite sure of finding followers, and they have been often known to subjugate whole provinces, and to disturb the peace of the country for whole years, defying the legitimate authorities. The reign of Pakubuwono was fruitful in these insurrections. The fate of one of these impostors is worth narrating, because it affords but too true a picture of native manners. *Mas Dono* set up the standard of rebellion in the district of Mata-

ram, and, ravaging this and several of the other fine districts near it, for a long time, eluded every attempt of the native government against him. The Susunan was highly incensed, and, in the words of the native writer from whom I borrow the account, gave orders, "that should Mas Dono be killed in action, his ears should be brought to him for his *satisfaction*; but he made a vow, that should he be taken alive, he should be conveyed to Cartasura, and there exposed in front of the palace, to be punctured to death with needles, *for the amusement of the people*." Mas Dono was at last taken alive, and transported to Cartasura, where he was actually tortured to death, agreeably to the savage vow of the prince.

(A. J. 1643, A. D. 1718.)—Pakubuwono was succeeded by his son, who took the name of *Susunan Prabu*. During the greater part of this reign, the country was in a state of the greatest anarchy, and, for the most part, in a state of open rebellion. No less than five princes of the royal family rebelled, and the standard of rebellion was erected, at times, in three, four, or five places at the same moment. These rebellions were at length quelled, chiefly by acts of treachery, in which the Dutch were the principal agents. The persons of the leaders got possession of by such means were disposed of, some by the bowstring, and some by the dagger. Some were immured in the pestiferous dungeons of Ba-

tavia, and some sent into banishment to the Cape of Good Hope or Ceylon.

(A. J. 1650, A. D. 1725.)—This prince was succeeded by his son, a lad of a few years old, who reigned twenty-five years,—twenty-five years of warfare and misery. (A. J. 1675, A. D. 1749.) —He died in a state of insanity: Like his grandfather, he was called *Pakubuwono*, but is distinguished by the appellation of *Sedo Laweyan*, or he who died at Laweyan. The two great events of his reign, and of that period of the history of Java, are the rebellions of the Chinese and of the prince *Mangkubumi*, the termination of the last of which he did not live to see. The story of the massacre of the *Chinese at Batavia* will be told in a subsequent chapter of this work. Suffice it at present to say, that the Chinese of the city of Batavia had grown in numbers and wealth; that they presumed on their own strength, and the weakness of the ruling authority; and that they incurred the jealousy of the Dutch, who, by an act of perfidy which has few examples in the history of any people, and none in that of a civilized one, committed a dreadful and indiscriminate massacre of them. A large body of these people retired from Batavia towards the east, and then commenced the portion of the story which relates to the history of the Javanese. They clandestinely negociated with the Susunan and his ministers, who, at length, burning to free himself from the

yoke of the Dutch, openly joined them,—besieged the Dutch fortress close to his capital, took it, and razed it to the ground. The Chinese and Javanese forces uniting on this, marched to Samarang, hoping to expel the Dutch from their principal establishment to the east, but, unskilled in the science of war, they made no impression on the petty fortress of that place; discord began to arise between the Chinese and Javanese, and the intrigues of the Dutch finally separated the Susunan from his league. The Chinese, not discouraged by this defection, and still encouraged by the adherence of several Javanese chiefs, elected a Susunan of their own from the royal family, marched to the capital, drove the legitimate prince from it, and occupied it. It was not until after a war of two years duration that the false Susunan was taken, the Chinese dispersed, and peace in part restored.

I shall relate a few of the transactions of this war, to show the spirit in which it was conducted. The conduct of the Susunan towards the Dutch was of the most treacherous character. Under the pretext of joining them for the destruction of the Chinese, he prepared a force to attack their fortress as already stated. When the expedition he had thus prepared was ready, as he pretended, to march, he sent the commanders, three resolute and desperate persons chosen for the occasion, into the fortress to receive the final orders of the Dutch

commander. This was the moment chosen for perpetrating the act of treachery which had been meditated. While in the act of saluting the commander, the assassins drew their daggers and commenced the attack. A crowd of Javanese now attempted to rush in at the gate, but the European centinels had the presence of mind to close it. The Dutch in their turn became the assailants, and the Javanese were in a few minutes put to death with as little mercy as they deserved.

The Chinese force now joining the Javanese, the Dutch fort was besieged, and the garrison, 450 in number, had the folly to surrender themselves prisoners of war, on the faithless assurances of safety made to them by the Javanese prince. In the first paroxysm of caprice, he directed the Christians to be circumcised, and instructed in the Mahomedan religion; or, as the Javanese writer carelessly expresses, "directed them to change their prophet." Soon repenting of this degree of lenity, he ordered the European officers to be executed, "by beating them to death with bludgeons!" These circumstances are related on the authority of native manuscripts.

When the Javanese agreed to forsake the Chinese, and renew their alliance with the Dutch, on the suggestion of the latter, they agreed suddenly to fall upon their old friends occupying the same camp, and massacre the whole of them. The matter was con-

certed in a secret negociation, and would have been carried into effect, had not some of the Javanese chiefs revolted at the atrocious proposal. The scheme which they substituted, to be sure, is in wickedness inferior to it only in extent. They proposed to the Chinese chiefs to make a sacrifice of their wounded to save appearances on their part with the Dutch, and what is more wonderful, the Chinese acceded to it. The Chinese forces accordingly marched from their encampment unmolested, leaving their sick behind them. These unfortunate people were immediately butchered by the Javanese, "and their heads being struck off, were sent *in baskets* to the Dutch commandant of Samarang, *in token of their fidelity to their engagements.*"

The Chinese having retreated, accompanied, however, by a number of Javanese, who still adhered to them, they were followed by the Javanese force, commanded by the first minister *Noto-kusumo*, the prime mover of the conspiracy against the Dutch, and a perfect pattern of dissimulation. He and the Chinese perfectly understood each other, but he thought it necessary to fight a mock battle, the more thoroughly to hoodwink the Dutch. The Chinese acceded to the proposal, but not understanding how such matters were conducted, they thought it necessary to consult their Javanese colleagues. The answer given by the latter affords the most undisguised and impudent specimen of orient-

al despotism which I have ever met with. "Father, replied the Javanese chief, (I quote the native writer,) such a battle is conducted by us in perfect earnestness with mutual slaughter, for not the smallest compassion is shown to the people. Keeping your secret, and saving the life of the chief, you may exterminate the rest.'" An action was accordingly fought on these principles, and some lives lost on both sides. The first minister, perfectly true to them, offered a reward *for every ear of a Chinese* that was brought to him; when openly opposed to the Dutch a little before, he had offered rewards for "*Dutch heads*" under similar circumstances.

It may amuse the reader to be supplied with a specimen of the correspondence of the hostile chiefs. *Martopuro*, the chief of those Javanese who were on the side of the Chinese, and of the prince they had proclaimed, wrote to *Pringoloya*, commanding a detachment of the Susunan's army, a challenge in the following words:—"There is a wild bull to the *north* of the range of *Kăndang*,* that longs to gore the *female* white elephant to the *south* of it." By the wild bull, which is an emblem of courage among the Javanese, was meant the prince under whose banners he was fighting; and by the

* A long range of mountains which divides, in the eastern part of the island, the low belt of land on the north coast, from the valleys of the centre of that quarter of the island.

white elephant the Susunan, a noble object, being degraded by assigning to it the female sex. Pringgoloyo, in his reply, pursued the same style of simile, and observed, that "he was aware there was a buffalo calf to the north of the range of Kăndang, accompanied by a little fugitive ragged animal of a goat, of both of whom he would soon render a good account." By the buffalo calf was of course meant the false Susunan; and by the goat, Martopuro himself, who was a person of diminutive stature, that, contrary to the usual practice of the Javanese, wore a beard. *Buffalo*, or *goat*, but particularly the latter, is in the mouths of the Javanese equivalent to "ass in oars." They seldom, indeed, go farther, for gross invective and scurrility are no vice of their manners. The vicinity of the dagger is an insurmountable barrier to the habitual use of them.

I shall pause for a moment, to make a few observations on the conduct of the Chinese in the course of this warfare. They showed themselves to be a people much beyond the Javanese in civilization, as evinced in their superior enterprise, skill, and energy of character. What we should be less apt to reckon upon is their courage; but in this quality, too, they much exceeded the Javanese. When the two nations acted together, we find the Chinese, and the Javanese themselves tell the story, not only planning and directing every operation, but taking the most active part in their execution, leading and

showing an example of intrepidity in every situation of danger or difficulty. From the ambition and enterprise shown by them on this occasion, there is little doubt, but, in the absence of Europeans, they would have made themselves masters of the island, and, supported by the swarms of emigrants from China, have established a permanent supremacy in it. Their abuse of the right of conquest, and their violation of the laws of war, were, however, still more flagrant than those of any of the belligerent parties. They almost constantly put their prisoners to death in cold blood; and to burn and ravage the country were certain attendants upon their march. After a rapid series of advantages, for example, they entered Cartasura. The prince had but just time to escape, and was forced to abandon almost the whole of his family. The Chinese, on this occasion, forcibly seized the females and violated them, not excepting the queen-mother, and the wives of the Susunan. In the wantonness of their brutality, they even made the unfortunate princesses dance naked before them!

In the year 1675 of the Javanese era, (A. D. 1749,) *Pakubuwono*, the second of the name, was succeeded by his son the third of the name. The rebellion of Mangkubumi, already alluded to, which commenced in the former reign, ended in this by a schism in the native power, by which two equal sovereignties were established in the central districts

of the island, the same arrangement which still subsists. Of all the civil wars which had been waged in Java for three centuries, this appears to have been the most destructive and most tedious, for twelve years' desolation hardly terminated it. It may be said to have flown out of the Chinese rebellion, and the indiscreet and insulting violence of the Dutch. The principal agents were the *Pangerans Mangkubumi* and *Mangkunagoro*, two men of intelligence and vigour of character, superior to what the history of Java usually presents. Mangkubumi was possessed of great bravery, firmness of purpose, and perseverance. Of the Dutch and Susunan he repeatedly beat the united forces. Mangkunagoro, with less discretion, had more personal enterprise. The Javanese describe him as "a man who carried on a war fifteen years without any wealth but his understanding;" a sentiment which they have versified, and are fond of repeating. It is clear, however, that they owed less to the superiority of their own genius and resources, than to the imbecility of their adversaries. The persons entrusted with the conduct of the war on the part of the Dutch, appear always to have been deficient in military skill, and very frequently in common courage. We find them frequently defeated in the field, often surprised, and never pursuing any advantage to a profitable result. Through ignorance and mismanagement their troops were ex-

posed to the inclemencies of a tropical climate, and, consequently, swept off in numbers. Desertions were frequent even among the European troops, who were often found fighting, a strange spectacle in the history of Indian warfare, under the banners of the native enemy. The probability is, that, had not their negociations and intrigues finally accomplished what their arms were unequal to, Mangkubumi would have subdued all the valuable part of the island, and established a powerful native sovereignty independent of their influence. After a series of abortive attempts to negociate with him, they at length succeeded, and in the year 1754 a treaty was concluded, by which the heir of the ancient sovereignty was compelled to yield to him one half of his dominions.

Mangkubumi and Mangkunagoro had at first acted in concert, the latter receiving the daughter of the former in marriage, and serving as his minister. These ambitious chiefs, however, were soon estranged from each other, and Mangkunagoro parted with his father-in-law, and set up for independence. He held out long after Mangkubumi had made his *great bargain*, and was not pacified, in the end, until he obtained, as a hereditary possession, a great estate or principality of four thousand families, (A. J. 1685, A. D. 1758.)

The Susunan Pakubuwono was succeeded by his son the reigning prince, in the Javan year 1714, (A. D. 1787.)

The fortunate rebel Mangkubumi established his government at Yugyakarta, and died in the Javan year 1718, (A. D. 1791.) He was succeeded by his son, who was expelled by the British in the Javan year 1739, (A. D. 1812.) The son and successor of this prince died after a short reign of little more than two years, and was succeeded by the reigning prince, still a youth, A. J. 1743, (A. D. 1815.)

For a period of more than sixty years Java may be said to have enjoyed one uninterrupted peace, for the vigorous and prompt military movements, deemed necessary by the French and British administrations for the maintenance of the European supremacy, which seemed falling out of the hands of their predecessors, was unattended with waste of life or property. *

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* The materials of the history of Java have been chiefly collected from a variety of Javanese historical compositions in the author's possession, which have been duly collated with such European authorities as have fallen in his way.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE MALAYS.

Menangkabao in Sumatra, the original seat of the Malayan Name and Nation.—Malays emigrated to the Peninsula.—Native History of the Emigration.—Strictures and remarks on the Native Narrative.—Origin of the word Malay—and of the terms Windward and Leeward People.—Malay Language and Name diffused through the Archipelago by the First Colony, and not by the Parent Stock.—Why the Peninsula is denominated "the Land of the Malays."—Details of the History of each Tribe referred to their particular heads.

THE notices which we possess on this curious and interesting subject are meagre and unsatisfactory, for the Malays are still more ignorant of historical composition than their neighbours the Javanese, and Europeans have had far less intercourse with the primitive race.

The country which Europeans denominate the Malay Peninsula, and which, by the natives themselves, is called "*the land of the Malays*,"* has, from its appearing to be wholly occupied by that people, been generally considered as their original country. The country of *Menangkabao* in Sumatra

* "Tanah Malayu."

is, however, beyond dispute, the parent country of the Malay race. Menangkabao, contrary to all other Malay states, is an inland country. Its original limits to the eastern side of the island were the great rivers of Palembang and Siak, and to the west those of Manjuta and Singkel. As the transaction does not pretend to a very remote antiquity, we may credit the universal assertion of the Malays themselves, though it would not be safe to trust to the details which they furnish, that all the Malayan tribes, wherever situated, emigrated, directly or indirectly, from this parent establishment. We are at first view struck with the improbability of an inland people undertaking a maritime emigration ; but their emigration, it will perhaps appear, on a closer examination, may really be ascribed to this peculiarity of situation. The country which the primitive Malayan race inhabits is described as a great and fertile plain, well cultivated, and having a frequent and ready communication with the sea, by the largest rivers within the bounds of the Archipelago. The probability, then, is, that a long period of tranquillity, secured by the supremacy which the people of Menangkabao acquired over the whole island, occasioned a rapid and unusual start in civilization and population,—that the best lands became scarce,—and that, in consequence, *the swarm* which founded *Singahpura* in the Peninsula, was thrown off.

Had the original tribe consisted of mere fishermen and navigators, their numbers would not have increased so as to give rise to so striking an event in their history.

The native details of the emigration, and which I give on the authority of Van der Worm, Valentyn, and Mr Marsden, are briefly as follow, in the words of the latter, History of Sumatra, p. 327—329 :—" Having chosen for their king or leader a prince named *Sri Turi Buwana*, who boasted his descent from Iskander the great, and to whom, on that account, their natural chief, Demang Lebar Daun, submitted his authority, they emigrated under his command about the year 1160, to the south-eastern extremity of the opposite Peninsula, named *Ujung Tanah*, where they were at first distinguished by the appellation of *Orăng de-bawah Angin*, or the Leeward people; but in time the coast became generally known by that of *Tanah Malayu*, or the Malayan land.

" In this situation they built their first city, which they called Singapura, and their rising consequence excited the jealousy of the kings of Mojopahit, a powerful state in the island of Java. To *Sri Turi Buwana*, who died in 1208, succeeded *Paduka Pikaram Wira*, who reigned fifteen years; to him *Sri Rama Wikaram*, who reigned thirteen, and to him *Sri Maharaja*, who reigned twelve. His successor, Sri Iskandar Shah, was the last king

of Singapura. During three years he withstood the forces of the king of Mojopahit; but, in 1252, being hard pressed, he retired first to the northward, and afterwards to the western coast of the peninsula, where, in the following year, he founded a new city, which, under his wise government, became of considerable importance. To this he gave the name of *Malaka*, from a fruit-bearing tree so called, (*myrobolanum*,) found in abundance on the hill, which gives natural strength to the situation. Having reigned here twenty-two years, beloved by his subjects and feared by his neighbours, *Iskandar Shah* died in 1274, and was succeeded by *Sultan Magat*, who reigned only two years. Up to this period the Malayan princes were pagans. *Sultan Muhammed Shah*, who ascended the throne 1276, was the first Mahometan prince, and, by the propagation of his faith, acquired great celebrity during a long reign of fifty-seven years. His influence appears to have extended over the neighbouring islands of *Lingga* and *Bintan*, together with *Jehor*, *Patani*, *Kedah*, and *Perak*, on the coasts of the peninsula; and *Kampar* and *Aru* in Sumatra; all of which acquired the appellative of Malayu, although it was now more especially applied to Malacca."

I shall offer a few strictures and remarks on this narrative. We find in it the precise year of the emigration, and other dates, when no proof exists

that the Malays were ever possessed of a national era or kalendar. Arabian and Persian names and titles are given to the Hindu sovereigns of a people who had not yet embraced the Mahomedan religion. The reigns are unnaturally long. The new establishment at Singapura is stated to have excited the jealousy of the Javanese kingdom of Mojopahit, before, according to Javanese record, Mojopahit itself had any existence; and the Malays are stated to have been driven from Singapura by the Javanese of Mojopahit, a transaction upon which Javanese story is wholly silent.

Notwithstanding these suspicious circumstances in the detail of events, the main points may be relied upon, and we may conclude,—that an extensive emigration took place from Sumatra to the extremity of the peninsula;—that *some* Javanese drove the settlers from Singapura to Malacca;—that six sovereigns reigned before the conversion to Mahomedanism;—and that this event took place about the year 1276, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, for *now* the Mahomedans *may* claim the prerogative of imposing their own names, and determining dates by their peculiar kalendar.

From facts brought forward in the above narrative, we are enabled to offer plausible conjectures respecting the name of the Malayan tribes. One of the four great tribes into which the parent race is subdivided is called Malayu. It was this, a

Marsden ingeniously observes, that probably furnished the first adventurers to the peninsula, and who bestowed their name on the rising colony, the prosperity and greatness of which were destined to eclipse the fame of the parent state. This, I have no doubt whatever, is the true etymology of the word Malayu.

It appears that the new colony was at first distinguished by the appellation of the *Leeward people*, while the parent state were denominated the *Windward people*. This meteorological distinction appears to me to have reference to the westerly or boisterous monsoon; *Barat*, in the Javanese language, is the general term for wind. In Malay it is *the west wind*, or, as would be said in *our* more expressive language, *the wind*. The use of this correlative language to describe the parent state and the colony, was afterwards dropped, and used more comprehensively, the *Windward* countries being all those to the west of the country of the Malays, but particularly India and Arabia, those with which the Malays had most intercourse.

It was from the colony, and not the parent stock, that the Malayan name and nation were so widely disseminated over the Archipelago. Singapura, Malacca, and Jehor, colonized the islands Lingga and Bintan, Kampar and Aru on Sumatra, Borneo on the great island of that name, and all the states which exist on the Malay peninsula. This

last country was found by them almost unoccupied,* or inhabited scantily by two miserable races, who readily gave way to their superior power and civilization. The peninsula is the only great country of the Archipelago wholly occupied by this race; for, in a general view, the miserable tribes of savages need not be considered, and it is therefore no wonder that it should have assumed the general name of the country of the Malays, and that strangers should have naturally looked upon it as the primitive seat of the Malayan name and nation. †

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* There is one circumstance mentioned by the Portuguese writers, which would seem to throw considerable doubt on this circumstance. Albuquerque wanted stones to build *the fortification*, and found near Malacca abundant materials in *the tombs of ancient kings*. But eight Malay kings only had reigned at Malacca, whose tombs, even had it been the practice, which it was not, to erect splendid tombs to the Malayan kings, either Mahomedan or Hindu, would not have supplied materials for an extensive fortification. The supposed tombs were probably Hindu temples; and if they were Hindu temples, there must have been a Hindu population.

† The authorities quoted by Valentyn for the history of the Malays, are three works, one called *Makuta segala Raja-raja*, "the crown of all kings;" another, *Panurunan segala Raja-raja*, "the descent of all kings;" and a third, called *Hang Tuah*. He calls these books "*three jewels*." Of the last he says, "I know not who is the author of the book Hang Tuah, but must declare that it is one of the most beautifully written works I ever perused." This favourite of Valentyn is the only one of the three which I have perused, and I have seen several

As we are in possession of no full and connected narrative of the history of any of the Malay states, and as, since their first separation, all have been generally independent, it will be out of place here to attempt any narrative of their affairs, for the little that is known will be detailed to more advantage under the particular head of each state.

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copies of it. To my taste it is a most absurd and puerile production. It contains no historical fact upon which the slightest reliance can be placed; no date whatever; and if we except the faithful picture of native mind and manners which it unconsciously affords, is utterly worthless and contemptible.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF CELEBES.

The Records of the People of Celebes more limited and imperfect than those of the Javanese.—Four hundred years, the utmost limit of probable history among the Bugis, the principal tribe.—General Remarks on the early History of Celebes.—Celebes never united as one Empire.—People of Celebes Hindus before they adopted the Mahomedan Religion.—Macassars begin to keep Historical Records.—Their progress in the most vulgar of the useful arts very recent.—History of the Conversion to Mahomedanism.—Macassars attack Boni.—The latter being conquered, accept the Mahomedan Religion.—A Religious Persecution, and the singular circumstances attending it.—The Macassars attack the Kingdom of Boni and reduce it to a province.—The people of Boni rebel,—are conquered, and reduced to slavery.—The Goa Macassars conquer a great part of Celebes, and extend their arms and commerce to the neighbouring Islands.—They come in contact with the Dutch monopolists, and War ensues. The Macassars are defeated at Butung with great loss.—Boni revolts, and is again subdued.—The Dutch conquer Goa Macasser, and the tributary nations are emancipated.—Reflections on the Power of the Macassars.—Raja Palaka is made King of Boni, and acquires the supremacy of Celebes, under the influence of the Dutch.—General Reflections.—Various Rebellions.

As the natives of Celebes are less civilized than those of Java, so are their historical records more

limited and imperfect. Javanese dates will carry us back with *tolerable* certainty for 600 years; we cannot presume on going any farther than four hundred with the history of Celebes. The Bugis tribes had a peculiar kalendar, but no era until they adopted that of the Christians and Mahomedans. It seems to have been their practice, like the Chinese, to reckon time by the reigns of their monarchs. The first positive date to which we can refer, is that of the arrival of the Portuguese in 1512, the year after they conquered Malacca. Of the kings of Goa Macassar, there have reigned in all, down to the year 1809, thirty-nine sovereigns, which, by the rule of assigning twenty years to each, adopted in European calculation, would indeed carry us back no less than seven hundred and eighty years. So long a duration for each reign in the barbarous state of society on Celebes, and with the turbulent and elective monarchies which obtain, will, on examination, be found far too great. Among the 28 sovereigns who have reigned at Goa Macassar since the arrival of the Portuguese for example, *three* were deposed, *two* resigned their crowns, *three* abdicated, and *one* was assassinated. From the accession of the first prince, the commencement of whose reign is accurately determined to the year 1588, down to 1809, there have reigned 17 kings, the average of whose reigns gives exactly 13 years, which, making allowance for the circumstances of the country, is,

in my judgment, fully enough for the whole period of Macassar history. At the rate of 13 years for each reign, the whole period will be 416 years, which carries us back to the last years of the fourteenth century of Christ. The very names of the sovereigns point at the anarchy and disorder which belongs to the state of society. In their records the princes are usually designated by the place or circumstances under which they died. The uncertain and wandering life which they led, and the want of a fixed residence, must have given rise to the practice of naming them from the place of their death, for the occupation of a permanent seat of government would soon have rendered this no distinction. One person is recognised under the *amiable* name of "*throatcutter*." One is called "he who run a *muck*." Another, "he who was decapitated;" a fourth, "he who was beat to death on his own staircase;" and a fifth, as if it were a rare occurrence, "he who died reigning," that is, who died a natural death.

The more civilized portion of the inhabitants of Celebes are divided, as already mentioned, into two great tribes, the *Macassars* and *Bugis*, and each of these again subdivided into a number of petty nations, among whom that of *Goa*, with the Macassars, and that of *Boni*, with the Bugis, have for many ages been the most considerable. These two, in different periods of the history of the island,

have exercised a permanent authority over the smaller tribes. A brief sketch of their history will comprise all that is interesting or valuable in the history of Celebes. It is hardly necessary to say, that there is no record, nor evidence drawn from the state of society, that can entitle us to infer, that the whole island was ever united as one great monarchy.

Previous to their adopting the Mahomedan religion, the inhabitants of Celebes professed the same Hinduism with the more western tribes of the Archipelago, and just as we find to be the case in the legends of the Javanese, *Batara Guru*, a local name of *Siwa*, is described as the first of their kings. The civilization of the Hindus seems, however, to have made very small progress in Celebes. The soil is not peculiarly inviting by its fertility, —the manners of the people are ferocious,—the distance is great,—and the country produces none of those costly luxuries, which alone in a rude state of commerce afford a profitable trade. These, it is probable, were the circumstances which restricted the intercourse between Celebes and Western India. It was not until the very reign in which the Portuguese arrived, that the Macassar nation began, by their own account, to keep any record of their principal transactions; and it is by no means improbable that this was suggested to them by their European visitors, who seem always to

have cultivated a more intimate connection with the natives of India than any other of the adventurers of Europe to the east.

In the next reign, we are expressly told in the Macassar annals, that cannon were first introduced, and the art of manufacturing gunpowder acquired. In these we can be at no loss to guess at their instructors. We are more surprised to find that the vulgar art of *burning bricks* was not known until this time, a fact which illustrates, in the clearest manner, the previous rude condition of the arts, and the little useful intercourse which subsisted with strangers. The origin of a commercial intercourse with foreigners in the same reign, is implied by the regulation ascribed to it for determining weights and measures, and by the striking, for the first time, of a national coin. The violence and disorder which reigned may be implied from the following story, gravely told in their writings. A merchant of Java having come to Macassar to settle, presented the king with some European broad-cloth, and Indian cottons, and requested, in return, the four following boons for himself and his companions, —That his house should not be forcibly entered, —that the inclosure which surrounded it should not be broke down,—that the individuals of his families should not be seized as slaves,—and that his property should not be confiscated!

What we hear of in the annals of the people of Celebes consist of nothing but constant wars,

petty conquests made, and soon lost, with perpetual anarchy and violence. The character of the people and their rulers seem to have acquired a new energy on the adoption of the Mahomedan religion. As early as the year 1512, when the Portuguese first visited Macassar, they found among them a few Mahomedans, but it was not until near a century afterwards that the religion of Mahomed was generally adopted. * The principal agents in the conversion were inhabitants of various Malay

* "To return to the king of Macassar, you must know that the Jesuits once endeavoured to convert him; and perhaps they might have brought it to pass, had they not neglected one proposal which he made them. For at the same time that the Jesuits laboured to bring him to Christianity, the Mahomedans used all their endeavours to oblige him to stick to their law. The king, willing to leave his idolatry, yet not knowing which part to take, commanded the Mahomedans to send for two or three of their most able Moullas, or doctors, from Mecca; and the Jesuits he ordered to send him as many of the most learned among them, that he might be instructed in both religions, which they both promised to do. But the Mahomedans were more diligent than the Christians, for in eight months they fetched from Mecca two learned Moullas; whereupon the king seeing that the Jesuits sent nobody to him, embraced the Mahomedan law. True it is, that three years after there came two Portugal Jesuits, but then it was too late."—Tavernier, Part 2. Book 3. There is some foundation for this story, but I have generally found Tavernier a superficial and unfaithful narrator.

states in Sumatra and the Peninsula; and the most renowned *Khatib Tungal*, a native of Menangkabao, commonly known by the name of *Datu Bandang*. The tomb of this person is still to be seen in the principality of *Tallo*. *Kraing Matonaga*, the king of this little state, always confederated with *Goa*, was the most zealous champion of the new faith, and it was through his influence that about the year 1605, in the reign of *Ri Gaukana*, it was generally adopted by all the tribes speaking the *Macassar* language. It was but ten years after this event that our countrymen appeared at Goa, and in the treaty they concluded, we discover the jealousy of the king towards the religion of *the strangers*; for one clause expressly provides, "that the English shall not convert any of the inhabitants of Celebes to their religion."

Inspired by the zeal of the new faith, the Macassars attacked *Boni* and *Waju*, and forced them to adopt the Mahomedan religion. On this occasion the king of Goa is described as having made an offer to the king of Boni, to consider him in all respects as his equal, if he would but worship "*the one true God.*" The prince of Boni consulted *the people*, who said, "We have not yet fought, we have not been conquered." They tried the issue of a battle, and were defeated. The king adopted the Mahomedan religion, but the conversion of his people was for a time but nominal.

In the year 1640, *Lamadarama*, king of *Boni*, commenced a religious persecution of his own subjects, and to impose the Mahomedan religion upon the smaller states, his neighbours, by force. A singular scene ensued. The people applied to the Macassars of Goa for assistance and protection, and the principal emissary was the king's own mother. *Ri Papang Batuna*, king of Goa, sent ambassadors to Boni, who were instructed to demand an answer to the three following questions,—Whether the king, in his persecution, was instigated by a particular revelation from the Prophet,—or whether he paid obedience to some ancient custom,—or followed his own personal pleasure? If for the first reason, the king of Boni requested information; if for the second, he should have his cordial cooperation; if for the third, he must desist, *for those whom he presumed to oppress were the friends of Goa.* The king of Boni made no reply, and the Macassars having marched a great army into the country, defeated him in three successive battles, forced him to fly the country, and reduced Boni into a province, leaving a viceroy for its government. The people of Boni, and other Bugis states, we see, were not fully converted at this time, so that we may conclude that the propagation of Mahomedanism was the slow and gradual work of a century and a half The instruments through which the conversion was brought

about were of the lowest order, and on this account, perhaps, the fitter for their occupation. No extraordinary exertion seems for a long time to have been made in behalf of the new religion. An abhorrence of innovation, and a most pertinacious and religious adherence to ancient custom, distinguish the people of Celebes beyond all the other tribes of the eastern isles; and these would, at first, prove the most serious obstacles to the dissemination of Mahomedanism. It was this, probably, which deferred the adoption of the new religion for so long a period, and till it had recommended itself by wearing the garb of antiquity. Independent of the mere effect of habit, it is not probable that the *ancient religion* of Celebes was one which laid a deep hold of the imagination of its votaries.

Three years after the conquest of Boni, or in the year 1643, the Boni people rebelled, and a large force being sent against them, they were subdued, and, according to the custom of the country, reduced to a state of bondage, being deprived of every privilege of an independent people. From the conversion of the Macassar state to Mahomedanism, in 1603, it had been engaged in a rapid career of conquest, for the Macassars not only rendered tributary to them the principal states on Celebes, but carried their arms to *Sambawa*, the *Xulla* Isles, *Butung*, and other countries. This brought them

in contact with the Dutch power, for, in the year 1655, they destroyed the Dutch establishment on Butung, in effecting the conquest of that island. In the year 1660, the Dutch, determining to be revenged, sent a powerful force against the Macassars, and, notwithstanding they were assisted by the Portuguese, defeated them in several actions, and dictated a peace to them.

No permanent establishment was at this time formed by the Dutch, and the Macassars being left without control, and weakened by their former defeats, resolved to retrieve their losses, and fitted out a great fleet of boats and vessels, amounting to 700, which carried an army of 20,000 men. This is the greatest maritime expedition of which I have heard in any period of the history of the Indian islands, and calculated to give us a high opinion of the power of the Macassar state. It made an easy conquest of Butung and the Xulla Isles, and was on the point of attempting the conquest of the Moluccas, when it was encountered at Butung by a force fitted out at Batavia, under Admiral Speelman, and totally overthrown.

Previous to this expedition the people of Boni had once more rebelled, and were once more defeated. Many of the princes had fled the country and joined the Dutch, among whom the principal was *Raja Palaka*, afterwards king of Boni. A series

of disasters and defeats forced the Macassars to make a peace, which emancipated all the tributary nations, and put a stop to the conquests and greatness of the Macassars. But, for the interference of the Europeans, it is not improbable that the enterprising state of Macassar would have founded, on this occasion, a more extensive and more potent state than had ever existed before in that part of the Archipelago. The convenience of the port, and the energy of the government, attracted to it, during the period it flourished, a considerable commerce, and we discover the native traders of the Archipelago, the European nations, and the maritime nations of continental Asia, resorting to it as a great emporium.

Raja Palaka, the ambitious and enterprising chief who had fled to the Dutch, and who was the great instrument in the conquest of Celebes, was raised to the throne in the year 1672, and rendered tributary to him, while he himself was under the influence of the Dutch, all the considerable states of Celebes, and from this period the state of Boni assumed the place of the conquered Macassars, giving law to Celebes. From the time of this arrangement, the history of the island has consisted of a series of rebellions, for neither the European nor native paramount authority have had power or skill to preserve order or tranquillity. The commercial monopoly of the Europeans has destroyed

trade, and proved no benefit to any party, while the natives have not borrowed one useful improvement from their masters, but continue to this day the same ferocious semibarbarians which we found them when we first interposed in their politics, more than a century and a half ago.

The particulars of the story of Celebes, from the establishment of the ascendancy of Boni and the Dutch, are detailed at sufficient length in the chronological table; and it would be unprofitable to insist upon them at a greater one in this place. The most considerable of the rebellions alluded to are those of *Bontolangkasa* and of *Sangkilang*. That of the first desolated the country five years, and it required the utmost exertions of the Dutch authorities at Batavia to prevent the enterprising and gallant chief from subduing the whole island, and expelling the Europeans. The rebellion of *Sangkilang* was still more ruinous, for it lasted during the almost incredible period of sixteen years, yet such was the obscurity of the adventurer, that his birth, parentage, or country, could never be ascertained. *

* The materials of this short sketch of the history of Celebes were obtained by the author, when at Macassar, in 1814. They consist of the manuscript memoir of a Governor Blok, written in 1759, a judicious performance; and of several native writings, both in the Bugis and Macassar language, of which translations were made into the Malay for the author's use. The originals are in his possession.

CHAPTER VIII.

PORTUGUESE HISTORY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

General remarks on the intercourse of European nations with the Indian Islanders.—First appearance of the Portuguese under Sequeira.—Albuquerque conquers Malacca.—Wealth obtained by the Conquerors.—Military character of the Malays at the time of the conquest.—Account of the Policy pursued by Albuquerque for re-establishing Malacca.—Conduct of the neighbouring Princes.—Character of the Policy pursued by the Portuguese in the Indian Archipelago during their possession of Malacca.—Albuquerque sends D'Abreu to the Moluccas.—Serran, one of his officers, is shipwrecked, and hospitably entertained by the Inhabitants.—De Britto, with a squadron of nine ships, makes a permanent establishment in the Moluccas, and is the first Governor.—He forthwith enters upon the scene of iniquity and crime which characterized the whole duration of the Portuguese yoke.—The Administration of Antonio Galvan, the only exception in a period of sixty years.—Circumstances to which so aggravated a degree of misrule ought to be ascribed.

THE object of the four following chapters is to furnish a brief sketch of the history of European nations in the Indian Archipelago, in the course of which, the principal aim is to illustrate the efforts

which their domination has produced on the character and destinies of the native inhabitants, and not to furnish a detail of the revolting and disgusting scenes of colonial intrigue, a topic, which, even were it compatible with the nature of my undertaking, would little interest the greater class of readers.

The power of European nations has been felt or established in the Indian islands for more than three centuries, and although its influence has not been co-extensive with its duration, it has, upon the whole, produced effects essential and important. It is instructive to contemplate the difference which has characterized the policy pursued by European nations in these countries, and in America, which became known to Europeans nearly about the same time. Avarice was the main spring of their policy with respect to both countries, but it took a different direction, and was differently modified according to the circumstances in which they found the nations which occupied them. The gold of America was soon exhausted;—the persecution of the natives which followed the search of it soon ceased;—the Americans had no rich commerce to persecute;—their soil furnished no productions on which Europeans put an extraordinary estimate;—colonization was consequently early resorted to, and consequently the prosperity of America has been comparatively great and progressive. The Indian islands, on the

contrary, were found to have an industrious and commercial population, and abounded in highly prized commodities peculiar to themselves. The attainment of these commodities by violent means, and not the search for gold, became naturally the object of the European adventurers of all nations. The prosecution of the same object has continued down to the latest period to actuate their policy; a systematic injustice which has, in every period of the European connection, generated a train of evils and misfortunes to the native inhabitants, of which no other portion of mankind has been so long the victim.

The rich commerce of the east was a kind of byword in Europe. The Phenicians, the Egyptians, and the Venetians, owed, indeed, their prosperity to it, but *their* monopoly of it was alone a legitimate one, for it sprung from their superior wealth, skill, ingenuity, and geographical advantages, and violence had no share in it. The moment the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, the character of the commercial intercourse with India underwent a complete revolution. The spices, and other productions of Asia, had before reached Europe by a route difficult and circuitous from the ignorance of the times, and the barbarism of those who transported them, and of the nations through whose dominions the trade had to pass: but still the commerce was as free as the barbari-

ty of the times could admit, and the commodities were obtained at their natural price, the cost of bringing them to market. The Europeans, able, by the passage round the Cape, to appear in force at the very sources of production, began from the first moment to exact the produce of the country at inadequate prices; and could the nature of the productions which excited their avarice have admitted, like the gold of America, of being directly pillaged, they would not have scrupled to have done so. This is the conduct which every European nation has actually pursued, and the principle which unfortunately still continues to be acted upon.

The state of society which existed in Europe at the moment of the discovery of the Indian islands was, of all others, the worst for the unfortunate natives of the Archipelago. Could we suppose the Europeans of the darker and more barbarous ages to have achieved the conquest of these islands, we can readily imagine them either to have made a predatory incursion, and abandoned the country, or a thorough conquest, colonized it, and mixed and assimilated with the inhabitants, rendering the evils of conquest of temporary duration. But the Indies were discovered at the first dawn of commercial enterprise, when mercantile cupidity had just awakened, but before trade had had time to produce its legitimate effects, humanity

and civilization,—at a moment when religious bigotry was at its height,—when the manners were rude and ferocious,—and when the progress of civilization had gone *far enough* to give the Europeans such a superiority in arts and arms as to make them despise their feeble enemies, without going *so far* as to inspire them with the humanity or generosity to use that superiority with justice or moderation. In our age, the cruelty and ferocity of the soldier is moderated and restrained towards an enemy by the humanity and generosity of the officer. In the periods to which I allude, the vulgar passion of revenge pervaded every rank; and we discover the leader and the soldier actuated alike by them in their intercourse with the Indians. In regard to religion, the Europeans of those times hated all who *differed* from them, and those of an opposite worship they considered as not entitled to the common benefits of humanity. As the immediate and avowed object of their encroachments was not glory or ambition, but the mean and sordid vice of avarice, we feel less sympathy for their crimes than for those of less interested conquerors and tyrants. At the same time, it ought, perhaps, to be considered, that the vices and crimes of the European conquerors of India and America appear to us in colours particularly odious, chiefly, because the art of printing has furnished us with ample records of *their* transactions,—a disadvan-

tage under which the reputation of their predecessors does not labour.

Such was the character of the people, who, in the progress of knowledge and discovery, invaded the happiness, and tranquillity, and independence, of the Indian islanders.

The Portuguese reached the Indian islands ten years after Vasco di Gama had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and reached the continent of India. In the year 1508, Emanuel, king of Portugal, fitted out a squadron of four ships, under the command of Diego Lopez di Sequeira, which reached the Indian Archipelago in the following year, touching first at *Pedir* and *Pase*, in Sumatra, and, finally, reaching Malacca, Mahomed, the king of which place, having heard of the outrages committed by the Portuguese, from the merchants of Western India, determined to lay a snare for Sequeira, which the Portuguese commander escaped, but not without the death of some of his crew, and the captivity of others. If we except the accidental visits of Marco Polo, Mandeville, and others, Sequeira may be looked upon as the proper discoverer of the Indian Archipelago.

In the year 1511, the renowned Alphonzo Albuquerque, the viceroy of the Indies, with a fleet of nineteen ships, and fourteen hundred men, six hundred of whom were natives of Malabar, sailed for Malacca, which he reached on the 1st day of July of that year. Albuquerque's

pretended object was to be revenged on the king for his perfidy towards Sequeira, but it was the spirit of rapine and conquest that, in truth, propelled him to the undertaking. Mahomed was still on the throne, and at war with the king of Siam, who had marched forty thousand men against him. From this formidable invasion, Mahomed had the dexterity to extricate himself by stratagem. Fearing the revenge of the Portuguese for his conduct towards Sequeira, he had called in the aid of the king of the neighbouring state of *Pahang*, who came to his assistance with a large force; so that, when he was attacked by Albuquerque, he had a garrison of thirty thousand men to maintain his independence.

Notwithstanding this, he made an attempt to negociate which failed. Albuquerque demanded the Portuguese prisoners, and Mahomed complied. The viceroy rose in his claims, demanding ground to build a fort, and reimbursement for the expences incurred on account of his own expedition, and that of Sequeira. The king rejected these insolent and unreasonable propositions, and prepared himself for the worst. Four-and-twenty days appear to have been spent in this fruitless negociation, for it was not until the 24th of July that the Portuguese force effected a landing. The plan of attack was to storm the town in two divisions, which, marching along the banks of the river,

were to join at the bridge, which unites the two parts of the town. The principal defences of the enemy were at that bridge. It was fortified by artillery, by a wooden tower, and by ditches. The Portuguese met with little resistance until they arrived at this place, which was defended by *Aladin* the hereditary prince, and by his brother-in-law the king of *Pahang*. The viceroy led one of the divisions in person, stormed and carried the bridge. Don John de Lima commanded the other, and was opposed by Aladin and the king of Pahang in front, while the king of Malacca in person, mounted on an elephant, and supported by others, fell upon his rear. The Portuguese opened their ranks for the elephants, turned round and wounded them with their lances. These timid animals, as usual, took fright, and becoming unmanageable, trode down the ranks of their own combatants, and threw all into disorder. De Lima, without meeting further resistance, then proceeded to join Albuquerque, at the bridge. The action was well-contested, and bloody at least on one side. Albuquerque, although he had gained the bridge, was not in a condition to profit by his success. He had no supply of provisions, and his troops were exhausted with fatigue, heat, and thirst. He, therefore, prudently retired in the course of the night to his fleet, determined to renew the attack under more favourable circumstances. Mahomed, as usual with barbarians,

construed the retreat of the Portuguese into fear; but, notwithstanding this impression, prudently occupied his time in strengthening the town, by making trenches across the streets, and strewing the avenues with *poisoned* caltrops. After some delay, and preparing a vessel to accompany the army with a supply of water and provisions, he renewed the attack. The Portuguese carried the entrenchments of the town with enthusiastic bravery; and, passing the bridge, the governor-general in person stormed an entrenched position in the principal street, where the chief force of the enemy was stationed, and where they made a gallant but ineffectual resistance.

Albuquerque now gave his attention to fortifying the bridge; from whence he sent detachments into the town, which still continued to resist, with orders to put the inhabitants to the sword. These orders were strictly executed, and the streets and rivers were choked with the dead bodies of the massacred inhabitants. The king abandoned his palace in the course of the night; and for three days the city was given up to plunder. The riches obtained in it, by the Portuguese accounts, were immense. The fifth part of the booty, which was the king's share, amounted to two hundred thousand crusados of gold.*

* If there be any truth in this account, we may conclude

The king of Malacca, driven from his capital, posted himself on the river *Muara*, within a few miles of the town, where he attempted to entrench himself, but was pursued and attacked by Albuquerque, who drove him from his position, capturing his baggage and elephants. The Portuguese were thus left in tranquil possession of Malacca.

Such is the detail of the first and greatest effort of the natives of the Archipelago to resist the invasion of the European nations. The particulars now given will supersede the repetition of any similar narrative, and will illustrate the character of the unequal contest which the inhabitants of those islands maintained against the skill and courage of Europeans. Eight hundred Europeans, with six hundred Indian auxiliaries, arriving in an unknown country, capture an entrenched town, defended by thirty thousand native warriors, with the loss of *eighty* of their number, and surrounded by hostile tribes, maintain themselves in their conquest. This fact is decisive. Whatever the Portuguese may tell us of the greatness and difficulty

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that the wealth obtained consisted of the spices brought to Malacca as the entrepot of the trade, articles of little comparative value in the country, but estimated by the Portuguese at their then extravagant price in Europe. Of jewels and precious stones it is not to be supposed that much would have escaped the rapacity of a licentious soldiery in the sack of a town.

of the undertaking, the enterprise must have been one of comparative facility. The Malays, when they first encountered the Europeans, had some knowledge of fire-arms and artillery; and the Portuguese writers have a fabulous story of there having been found in the town of Malacca three thousand pieces of cannon.* That they had the knowledge of gunpowder and fire-arms, there can be no doubt, but the unskilful use of fire-arms with barbarous tribes, who always want the art of fabricating them to any useful purpose, and the discipline to use them effectually, inevitably renders them a more easy prey to an European enemy, than when they confine themselves to the weapons more natural to their condition in society, which are always sufficiently well fabricated, and wielded with effect and dexterity.

Having given a detail of the conquest of Malacca, I shall now render some account of the mea-

* "A propos de quoi je ne puis me tenir de faire une remarque, fort necessaire pour bien entendre les relations des pais éloignez. C'est que les mots de *bon*, de *beau*, de *magnifique*, de *grand*, de *mauvais*, de *laid*, de *simple*, de *petit*, équivoques d'eux-memes, se doivent toujours entendre par rapport au goût de l'auteur de la relation, si d'ailleurs il n'explique bien en détail ce dont il ecrit. Par example, si un Facteur Hollandois, ou un Moine de Portugal, exagérent la magnificence," &c. Siam, par De la Loubere, Tom. II. p. 107.

sures pursued by Albuquerque, the greatest and wisest of the Portuguese conquerors of India, to secure this acquisition; and from the spirit of his regulations, we may gather how little can be looked for in the sequel from meaner agents. To secure his possession, he built a strong citadel, and, with the religious zeal which belonged to his age, one of his first cares was the construction of a church. Malacca, at the moment of the conquest, consisted of a mixed population of Mahomedan natives, Pagan natives, Mahomedans of Western India, and Mahomedan Javanese. Of the first and third classes, those who were not massacred in the sack of the town, or did not follow the fortunes of their natural prince, were condemned, without exception, *to slavery*. Albuquerque saw Malacca an useless and dreary solitude, and resolved to repeople it with strangers. He, for this purpose, pursued the wise and salutary conduct of leaving the natives to their domestic laws and usages. He intrusted *Raja Utimutis*, a Javanese chief, with the administration of the Mahomedan part of the population, and *Ninachetuan** over the Pagan portion, the former an ambitious chief, who long aimed at the sovereignty of Malacca, and the latter, one

* These names are neither of them native, but Portuguese corruptions of genuine names, which are so altered that cannot guess at them.

who befriended the Portuguese from his hatred to the Mahomedan religion.*

The Portuguese provoked their enemies, and disgusted or persecuted their friends. Albuquerque gave the first example. Utimutis, on pretext of a conspiracy, was, with his son, son-in-law, and nephew, publicly and relentlessly executed by him. Ninachetuan, two years afterwards, was deprived of his office unjustly, and publicly sacrificed himself on a funeral pile; a solemn ceremony, conformable, it seems, to the religion he professed. His successor, the *Raja* of *Kampar*, with hardly a suspicion against his reputation and fidelity, was put to death very soon after his accession to his office. By the same suspicious policy, *Patiquiter*, a Javanese chief, was driven into rebellion, and afterwards proved one of the most formidable enemies of the Portuguese power.

Albuquerque, notwithstanding the violence of his proceedings in the case of Utimutis, pursued some politic measures for repeopling Malacca with strangers. He made a pompous display of magnificence, coined a gold, silver, and tin coin, and, after the manner of the East, dazzled the people by distributing money in a public procession, a juggle not without its influence on the imaginations and opinions of the people for whom he was legislating.

The kings of the surrounding countries, from

fear, interest, or astonishment at the novel event, sent Albuquerque ambassadors to congratulate him on his victory. In this manner came ambassadors from Siam and Pegu, from the kings of Java, and from those of Sumatra. Albuquerque sent ambassadors, in return, to these different countries, but the spice trade was what chiefly excited his cupidity, and Antonio D'Abreu was dispatched to the Moluccas. Among the princes who thus sent missions to Albuquerque, the king of Siam, from his power and vicinity, deserves particular notice. He thanked Albuquerque for his chastisement of *a rebellious subject*, a fact from which we learn that Malacca, like the rest of the Malayan Peninsula, was considered as tributary to Siam.

All that can interest the reader in the story of Malacca, until it fell into the hands of the Hollanders, a period of a hundred and thirty years, may be told in a few words. The Portuguese of Malacca, as they are painted by the historians of their own country, in dissoluteness of morals, in rapacity and faithlessness, were second only to those of the Moluccas. By their violence and perfidy they provoked the hostility of all the neighbouring nations. The legitimate possessors of Malacca, the Malays of Jehor, Bintăn, or Ujung-tanah, besieged or blockaded the city, during the one hundred and thirty years of Portuguese possession *six* times,—the king of Achin *seven* times,—the Ja-

vanese *three* times,—and the Dutch *twice*. On many occasions it was reduced, by famine and epidemic disease, to the last degree of distress. Malacca scarce ever exceeded the limits which the first conquest established. This distant post was neglected by the viceroys of India, amidst the multiplicity of their engagements to *the west*. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the pernicious exercise of commercial functions by the sovereign authority, the natural advantages of the place as a commercial emporium, a considerable freedom of commerce in the place itself, and the active enterprise of the Javanese, the people of Celebes, the Chinese and Japanese, not yet compelled, by the violence of European invasion and encroachment, to withdraw from commercial pursuits, Malacca continued to maintain its commercial reputation. After Ormus and Goa, it was still the first commercial city of the Indies. The revenue of the customs amounted annually, independent of the profits of trade, real or pretended, to seventy-thousand dollars; but, as the Portuguese writers assure us, that the crown was regularly defrauded by its officers of one-half the duties, the amount must of course have been one hundred and forty thousand crowns,—a large sum in those times.

The particulars of the story of Malacca will be found, narrated at length, in the chronological ta-

ble, and I shall not venture to offer any particulars in this place.

Having given this account of the first establishment of the Portuguese in the Archipelago, I shall take a rapid survey of their conduct in the Spice Islands. Albuquerque, while at Malacca in 1511, dispatched a squadron to the Moluccas, under Antonia D'Abreu, who touched at the island of Amboyna only, and from thence returned with one of his skips bearing a cargo of spices. Francis Serrano, one of the captains of D'Abreu's squadron, was separated from his commander, and suffered shipwreck on a desert island. Some hospitable fishermen, who observed his situation, carried him in safety to Amboyna, where the Portuguese were received with a friendship and humanity which did honour to the character of the natives, and which formed so cruel a contrast to the requital they received. *

* The hospitality of the people of the Moluccas, towards every class of strangers, was remarkable. All the European nations were received by them with a courtesy and good faith which does honour to their character ; and the malignant passions of barbarians never displayed themselves in their conduct until excited by insult and provocation. The following is the account of the reception of our countrymen by the king of Ternate. " The foureteenth of November wee fell with the islands of Molucca : which day at night, (having directed our course to run with Tydore,) in coasting along the island of Mo-

It was not, however, until the year 1521, ten years after their establishment at Malacca, that the Portuguese appeared in force in the Moluccas. Antonio de Britto commanded a squadron of nine ships, which appeared in the Spice Islands, for the

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tyr, belonging to the king of Ternate, his deputie, or vice-king, seeing us at sea, came with his canoa to us, *without all feare*, and came aboord; and, after some conference with our Generall, willed him in any wise to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, assuring him that the king would be glad of his comming, and would be readie to doe what he would require; for which purpose he himselfe would that night be with the king, and tell him the newes, with whom, if hee once dealt hee should find, *that, as hee was a king, so his word should stand*. In the mean time the vice-king had been with the king, according to his promise, signifying into him what good things he might receive from us by traffique: whereby the king was moved with great liking towards us, and sent to our Generall with special message that he should have what things he needed and would require, with peace and friendship; and, moreover, that he would yeeld himselfe and the right of his island, to be at the pleasure and commandment of so famous a prince as we served. In token whereof he sent our General a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boats and canoas to our shippe, to bring her into a better and safer road than shee was in at that present. Our Generall's messenger being come to the court, was met by certaine noble personages, with great solemnitie, and brought to the king, *at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained*." Drake's Voyage in Purchas, Vol. 1. Book II. p. 54, 55.

purpose of *taking possession of them* in the name of the king of Portugal, and he was invested with the government. The simple sovereigns of the Moluccas received their treacherous guests with caresses, and contended for the honour of entertaining them, and giving them a military establishment in their country.' Ternate finally obtained the dangerous preference; and in that island, the seat of the most powerful chieftain of the Moluccas, the Portuguese commander established himself. De Britto, to his astonishment, found in the Moluccas the companions of Magellan, who had reached them in the course of *the first voyage round the world.* These he seized upon and imprisoned, and the natives no sooner knew Europeans, than they were presented with the odious spectacle of their hatreds and animosities.

The very first governor of the Moluccas commenced the course of violence, intrigue, injustice, and perfidy, which, with little exception, characterized the whole of the Portuguese ascendancy in the Spice Islands. His intrigues deprived the widow of *Bolcife*, the first kind host of the shipwrecked Portuguese, of the regency; he stirred up a civil war in the island of Tidor, and distributed the mercantile adventure with which he was charged, in rewards for the massacre of the unfortunate natives. For sixty years, during which the dominion of the Portuguese in the Moluccas endured, the same

scenes of rapine and cruelty were exhibited. Kings were made and dethroned, executed and expatriated at the caprice of those petty tyrants of the Moluccas. The natives were unwillingly driven to resistance, and the long period in question was almost wholly one scene of hostility and anarchy. The two short years of the administration of the heroic and virtuous Galvan form the only exception; for with this slight deviation, every succeeding governor was worse than his predecessor. The Portuguese writers are ashamed of the crimes of their countrymen in the Moluccas, and would fain have us believe that these crimes had not their origin in the national character, but were confined to the "*knot of villains*" who happened accidentally to represent their country in those distant parts; but their uniform continuance during so long a period, and the successive depravity of every new chief, though nominated from the supreme seat of government, must convince us, that the vices which entailed misery on the Moluccas, were those of the age and nation of the Portuguese, aggravated in this particular instance by the temptations which their distance from control, the weakness and simplicity of the natives, and the seductions of avarice peculiar to the situation held out. *

* Maffæi, Historia Indica.—Lafitau, Histoires des decouvertes et conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde.—Histoire General des Voyages.—Modern Universal History.

CHAPTER IX.

DUTCH HISTORY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

Causes which led to the Dutch Adventures to India.—The First Voyage under Houtman, and the Conduct of that Adventurer.—Causes which led to the formation of a Joint-Stock Company, and the pernicious consequences of that early example.—General Character of the Dutch Policy in relation to the Inhabitants of the Archipelago.—Conduct of the Dutch in Java.—Native Princes of the Island combine to expel the Europeans.—Combination broken by the mutual jealousies of the Parties.—The Town of Jacatra destroyed, and Batavia founded.—The Sultan of Mataram besieges Batavia twice, and is defeated.—The most flourishing period of the Dutch History of Java.—The Dutch take part with the Sultan of Mataram against his Subjects, and are involved in a long and expensive War.—War of Bantam, and expulsion of the English from Java.—Rebellion of Surapati, a Slave, who founds an Independent Principality.—Dutch involve themselves in the War for the Succession to the Throne of Mataram, and take part with the Usurper.—The Conspiracy of Erberfeld.—Massacre of Ten Thousand Chinese at Batavia.—Java enjoys a profound Peace for Fifty Years, and in spite of Monopolies, and want of Foreign Commerce, flourishes in consequence.—Proceedings of the Dutch in the more Western Countries of the Archipelago.—The Object of their Policy in those parts chiefly Commercial.—Conquest of Malacca.—Decay of Malacca,

owing to the Establishment of the Commercial Monopoly.—Transactions in Sumatra.—Search for Gold and Pepper defeated.—Conduct of the Dutch in the Spice Islands.—They completely enslave them.—The Natives are scarcely acquainted with them, when they are desirous to be rid of them.—They inveigle the Native Princes into Treaties, conferring upon themselves the exclusive right of buying Cloves.—Revolt of the People of Banda in 1615.—Their second Revolt in 1620, and total subjugation.—Massacre of the English at Amboyna.—Revolt of the People of Amboyna and Ternate.—Executions.—Revolt in 1650.—Conduct of Vlaming, the Governor of the Moluccas.—Destruction of Clove Plantations because too productive.—Execution of Twenty Nobles.—Execution of the gallant Terbile and others.—Execution of John Pays, a Christian Chief.—Murder of the Prince Saydi.—Murder of the King of Gilolo and his Family.—Earthquakes and Epidemics afflict Amboyna.—The People of the Moluccas finally submit to the Dutch Yoke.—The Ruin of Celebes involved in the Fate of the Moluccas.

THE history of the Dutch empire in the Indian Archipelago must be narrated at greater length than that of the Portuguese, as it is more important and better known, and as the influence of the Dutch nation has been not only more extensive, but of longer continuance.

The inhabitants of *the Low Countries*, driven from the ports of Spain and Portugal, and deprived, by the union of those kingdoms, of the beneficial commerce which they carried on in distributing throughout Europe the productions of the East,

obtained at the mart of Lisbon, resolved to proceed direct to the Indies in search of those productions, and on the 2d of April 1595, a fleet of four ships sailed from the Texel for this purpose. The chief management of this important expedition was entrusted to Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, who, without having visited the Indies, pretended to a knowledge of the Indian commerce obtained during a long captivity in Lisbon. On the 2d of June 1596, after a voyage of ten long months, the Dutch fleet arrived at Bantam, then the principal trading port of the Indies, in those commodities which the habits of Europe demanded. The adventurers, in their intercourse with the natives, behaved without judgment or moderation. At Bantam they embroiled themselves with the inhabitants, and committed actual hostilities. At Sădayu, in Java, they committed a horrible massacre, and at Madura a still more atrocious one, in which the prince of that country and his family, coming to visit the Dutch fleet in a friendly manner, lost their lives through the suspicious timidity of these strangers. Houtman was little better than a presumptuous impostor, deficient in all the qualities necessary to the delicate affair entrusted to his management.

The Dutch, encouraged to persevere by the success of their first adventure, though it was not considerable, sent a number of private ships to India

from various ports of Holland down to the year 1602, when the parties conducting these enterprises united to the formation of a *joint stock company*. The restricted income of a republican government, and, at the same time, the necessity of combining for security against the hostility of Spain, naturally gave rise to this measure, one probably indispensable in that early and rude period of commerce and government; but which, as well with the Dutch as other European nations, has since, by its example, had so pernicious an influence upon the commercial history of the East.

The early period of the Dutch history of the Indies consists in a complication of their commercial transactions,—their wars with the Spaniards or Portuguese,—their broils with the English,—and their aggressions upon the natives. Their conduct in their wars with the Spaniards always did honour to their courage, and often to their moderation. In their transactions with the English, it is difficult to say which party was *least* to blame, unless we pronounce in favour of that which had the smallest power of aggression. On both sides the mean and bad passions which were excited by avarice, and by commercial and national rivalry, were carried to an unexampled extent. In their transactions with the natives, the Dutch, while restrained by prudential motives, by their weakness, and the competition of foreigners, pursued a moderate course; but as soon as

these restraints were removed, the sequel of their history plainly showed, that that moderation was only the result of expediency and necessity. It may perhaps be admitted, that, in the measures they pursued, there was a less insolent, daring, and open violation of justice than in those of the Portuguese; but they were attended by results still more pernicious, because the power which confirmed the thraldom of the natives was greater than that of their predecessors, and therefore embraced a larger field of desolation.

I shall take a view of their conduct in the principal seats of their authority, viz. in Java, in the Moluccas, and other neighbouring islands, and in Malacca, and the other seats of their power in *the west*, illustrating each subject by a rapid narrative of some of the most prominent events of their administration.

The eminent fertility of Java, the greatness of its resources, and the commodiousness of the port of Batavia, soon pointed it out as the fit seat of an extensive and commercial empire; and as early as 1611, just a century after the establishment of the parallel authority of the Portuguese at Malacca, the first Dutch governor-general laid the foundations of the future capital in Jacatra.

By the year 1618, the ambition, rapacity, and abilities of the Dutch, French, and English, 'the new adventurers from Europe, had convinced the

princes of the Archipelago, that these guests, whom, on their professions of amity and moderation, they had so hospitably entertained, were not less dangerous than their first visitors the Portuguese. The princes of Java, too weak to remove them by open force, began secretly to conspire to rid themselves of them. The Dutch, whom they observed to be the most powerful, were the principal objects of their hatred and alarm; and they thought, if they got rid of them, the weaker invaders might readily be disposed of. Of this conspiracy, as the Dutch are pleased to call it, the movers were, the Regent of Bantam, the Kings of Jacatra and Cheribon, and the Sultan of Mataram. These princes had the dexterity to dupe the English, whose animosity towards the Dutch led them to become the tools of the native princes. Conspiracies were at the same time formed in Sumatra, in Celebes, and the Moluccas, to expel the Dutch, but their good fortune, and a courage and perseverance worthy of a better cause, saved them from all these impending dangers. The jealousies and animosities of the native princes, and that weakness and oscillation of conduct common to them with all barbarians, broke and defeated in Java the combination against them. The Dutch fort was on the point of surrendering to the king of Jacatra, but the regent of Bantam, forgetting the primary object of the war, and becoming jealous of the rich booty which would in this manner

fall into the hands of his ally, determined at all risks to snatch the prize from him. With this view, he sent a force of two thousand men, under pretext of assisting the common cause. The bold leader who commanded these troops, presenting himself before the king of Jacatra, drew his dagger, and dictated to him with the point to his breast, in consequence of which his troops took possession of the town; the Dutch retained their fort; and the English, allies of the king of Jacatra, unable to stem the progress of this strange revolution, unwillingly retired. On the 29th May 1619, the Dutch appeared in strength at Jacatra, and landing a military force, assaulted the town, and carried it. Some of the inhabitants saved themselves by flight; the rest, with the exception of women and children, were put to the sword. The houses were burnt to the ground, and the walls razed, so that nothing remained of Jacatra but the name. The king and his family were among the fugitives, and the same unfortunate monarch, reduced to indigence and distress, is said to have passed the rest of his life in the humble and mean occupation of a fisherman, as complete an example of fallen greatness as the history of any nation or period can afford; whether we consider the extent of the fall, or the meanness of the instrument by which it was brought about, —a band of rapacious merchants from a country of the second order in another hemisphere. The

new town, founded by the Dutch, took the name of Batavia, which afterwards acquired such celebrity in the history of the Indian commerce. This narrative is an epitome of the whole history of European aggression in the East.

For ten years, the Dutch enjoyed tranquillity in Java, and their establishments at Batavia grew great and prosperous from the influx of European capital; and, the resort and settlement of the more industrious nations of Asia, encouraged thereto, by the *comparative* vigour and advantages of European government.

The Sultan of Mataram, master of the richest and greatest portion of Java, and called by his countrymen the *Great*, seeing his ambitious schemes circumscribed by the presence of the strangers, formed the scheme of expelling them from the island; and, with this view, twice besieged the new city. The detail of these sieges is worth recording, as, of any transaction of the history of these countries, it affords the best illustration of the genius and resources of the European and native character.

The Sultan, agreeably to the character of a barbarian, resolved upon a treacherous attack on Batavia, hoping thus to take the place by surprise. He sent, for this purpose, his commander, *Bahu Rŭksŏ*, with six hundred chosen men in fifty war boats, pretending to bring the Dutch a supply of

cattle. On the first attempt of the Dutch to use precautions against this force, hostilities commenced, and the Javanese at once proceeded to the assault of the fort, in which they persevered, with ineffectual courage, for five hours. Numerous and frequent reinforcements arrived from Mataram, and the Javanese entrenched themselves. From the beginning of August until the end of November, the Javanese army besieged the half-finished fortress of Batavia, defended by a handful of Europeans, and by a few Indian soldiers. After a variety of impotent attacks, the siege was raised, and a force, which it is pretended, from first to last, did not amount to less than *one hundred thousand men*, was reduced by famine, sickness, desertion, and the sword, to *ten thousand*.

In the following year, the King of Mataram sent a second army against Batavia, which proved as unfortunate as the first. It is reported, though, in all probability, with exaggeration, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men; and, when it raised the siege in the month of November, before the commencement of the inclement season, to have lost, by the common causes of destruction in an army, to which, in the present instance, are to be added some horrible and extensive executions, one half its numbers. The Dutch, in the defence of their capital, received the most effectual assistance in the zeal, and, what is less to

be expected, in the courage of the Chinese inhabitants. Their principal soldiery were natives of Japan, who, as usual, distinguished themselves by their forward courage.

Such is a brief narrative of the two famous sieges of Batavia. The greatest and most powerful of the princes of Javanese history sends, in the zenith of his power, and in two successive years, armies of more than one hundred thousand men each against a half-finished fortress, defended by an insignificant body of perhaps undisciplined Europeans, and he is triumphantly defeated.

From the year 1629 to the year 1675 may be looked upon as the most flourishing period of the Dutch history of Java, as well as of their settlements elsewhere. Their transactions, during this period, were chiefly mercantile; but, at the conclusion of it, they became involved in the politics of Java; so that the epoch of their political greatness, of their own commercial ruin, of the humiliation of the natives, and the destruction of general commerce, may justly be considered as coeval.

The Dutch, in the year 1675, took part with the Sultan of Mataram against his rebellious subjects, and were fully committed in the expences, intrigues, and crimes which characterized the contest, which ended in the year 1681 by the death of the rebel, Truna Jaya. Treaties were concluded

with the Sovereign of Mataram, which had for their object the acquisition of territorial power, but above all, the plunder of his subjects, by restricting their commercial enterprise, and exacting the produce of their land and industry at inadequate prices. The ruin and impoverishment of their subjects and allies were, by a strange perversion, considered in these engagements as paramount to their own enrichment and aggrandizement.

It was the evil genius of monopoly which also dictated the proceedings of the Dutch in the war of Bantam, which almost immediately after ensued. The circumstances of this contest, so important to the other commercial nations of Europe, are as follow. The reigning Sultan of Bantam, at the age of sixty three, resigned his crown to his eldest son; but, dissatisfied with his successor, began, from his retirement, to intrigue in order to place the crown on the head of a son from whom he expected more gratitude. The chiefs and people of the country generally rose in behalf of the ex-monarch,—an unequivocal testimony of the goodness of his cause,—and the English and Danish merchants at Bantam had the imprudence to take a share in the contest, and join him. The old Sultan, with fifty thousand men, besieged Bantam. The young Sultan claimed, and readily received, the aid of the Dutch, anxious only for an opportunity of extending *their friendly protection* on such an emergency.

The result was what might have been expected from the superior power of the Dutch, and the use they were wont to make of their advantages. The old Sultan was defeated; the young one confirmed; the English, Danes, and all other Europeans, expelled for ever from Bantam; a monopoly secured to the Dutch; and, *of course*, the trade and prosperity of the country annihilated.*

The power of the Dutch was never equal to their ambition. They attempted, by intrigue, what their resources were unequal to accomplish by avowed conquest. Their counsels were often capricious, and commonly unjust, and the principles of commercial monopoly on which their acquisitions were governed, were sure to disgust the people.

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* Hamilton (New Account of the East Indies, Vol. II. p. 127) gives the following flippant, but tolerably accurate, account of the transaction. "The first place of commerce on the west end of Java, is the famous Bantam, where the English and Danes, had their factories flourishing till *anno* 1682, at which time the neighbourly Dutch fomented a war between the old king of Bantam and his son; and, because the father would not come into their measures, and be their humble slave, they struck in with the son, who was more covetous of a crown than of wisdom. They, with the assistance of other rebels, put the son on the throne, and took the old king prisoner, and sent him to Batavia; and, in 1683, they pretended a power from the new king to send the English and Danes *a-packing*, which they did, *with a great deal of insolence, according to custom.*"

Constant anarchy, and frequent rebellions, were the certain results of this policy.

One of the most memorable examples of the effects of this policy is afforded in the story of the celebrated *Surapati*, which is narrated at some length in the native history of Java. This person, a native of Bali, and the slave of a Dutch citizen of Batavia, goaded by domestic cruelty, and encouraged by the general anarchy which surrounded him, escaped from his slavery, and, favoured by circumstances, but not less by the ascendancy of a superior courage and genius, admirably suited to his situation, defied the whole power of the Dutch, and founded an independent principality, which he and his family, in defiance of the power of the Dutch, and ultimately of the Susunan, held for twenty years.

While struggling with this formidable adversary, the Dutch involved themselves in the war of the succession to the throne of Java. They declared in favour of a rebel prince, and incurred all the expences and hazards of a five years' contest by this step. At length, by an act of treachery, they secured the person of their enemy, and banished him to a distant and foreign country.

For ten years after this event, the island was involved in a variety of wars and rebellions, which had their origin in the policy which I have attempted to describe, and in the busy, but unskilful ambition of the Dutch administration. It was the

same policy which gave birth to the extraordinary conspiracy of *Peter Erberfeld*, which I am now to describe.* Peter Erberfeld was the son of a gentleman of Westphalia, and citizen of Batavia, by a Javanese mother. His father had left Erberfeld great wealth. At the age of fifty-eight or fifty-nine, he entered into a conspiracy to destroy the Dutch power in Java by the massacre of all the Christians, on which he was himself to have assumed the government of at least all the portion of the island which was under the dominion of Europeans. The manner in which the conspiracy was discovered remains unknown. It is only suspected that the Sultan of Bantam, who was engaged in a correspondence with the conspirators, began to fear that his own safety was involved in the success of their ambitious schemes, and became, in consequence, instrumental in bringing it to light.

* "We are the more astonished," says the record of the trial, "at this horrible contrivance, because this *Company*, under the auspices of their High Mightinesses the States General, has never ceased to govern *with all possible mildness and tenderness*, all the people under their authority, whether Mahomedan or Pagan, without distinction of religion, and protected them against all and every one who sought to trouble or molest them." Either this sentiment is a piece of the most revolting effrontery, or the authors of it must have been wholly blinded by the circumstances of their situation. The latter is most probable.

The principal evidence was extorted from the conspirators themselves on the rack; and much of it, therefore, may well be discredited; but, whether the particulars be real or imagined, they afford so curious an illustration of the character of the Dutch administration, that they ought not to be passed over in silence. After being frequently put to the question, the conspirators confessed to the following circumstances: The first object was to massacre the Dutch with all the Europeans, and the Christians of every denomination; after which, the conspirators were to be joined by all the Asiatics in the island. *Erberfeld*, the chief conspirator, took the name of "*Ywang Gusti*," or *The Lord*; and *Cantadia*, the second conspirator, the title of *Raden*, or Noble. The plot was laid at the house of Erberfeld without the walls of the city; and it appeared that the conspirators had been in the practice of holding frequent meetings at a country house of their leader, and there conducting a correspondence with several native chiefs and princes, both in the island and in the neighbouring countries. Some of the conspirators were engaged, according to the superstitious notions of the Javanese, and, as always happens on similar occasions, in distributing *charms* and *amulets* to render the possessors invulnerable. The attack was to have commenced on the first day of the new year, and with the first opening of the gates of the

citadel in the morning. Each conspirator had his particular post and office assigned. The chief conspirator was to have governed in the city and citadel; and the second to have administered the territory extending to the mountains. The inferior conspirators, under the titles or official designations of *Pangeran*, *Tumünggung*, and *Mantri*, were to fill the subordinate situations. The conspiracy was wide spread, and the arrangement for its execution to have been supported by a force of seventeen thousand men. It originated with Cantadia, a native of Cartasura, who had, it appears, laboured for two years to seduce Erberfeld. The conspirators were mostly natives of Java, and almost all of them of mean origin. It was detected but three days previous to the time appointed for putting it in execution. Nineteen of the conspirators, among whom were the wives of three of the male prisoners, were tortured, found guilty, and sentenced to the most cruel and horrid punishments, which were carried into execution fourteen days after sentence was passed. * On Sunday, two days after the execution,

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* The following is the record of this abominable sentence: "We, the judges, having heard and examined the information preferred *ex officio* by Henry van Steel, drossard of the low country, against the before-mentioned criminals, who have confessed the whole, and submitted themselves voluntarily to this

public thanksgivings were offered to God, say the Dutch writers, in the churches of Batavia, for the

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conclusion; it is therefore concluded, regard being had to the before-mentioned crimes, and all the circumstances relating to them, and we hereby conclude and decree in justice, in the name, and on the part, of their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, that we condemn the before-mentioned prisoners, with the approbation of the governor-general Mr Zwardekroon, and of the counsellors of the Indies, to be transported to the place before the citadel, where it is usual to execute criminals, there to be delivered into the hands of the hangman, in order to receive their respective punishments in the manner following: The two criminals, Erberfeld and Catadia, otherwise styled Rading, shall be extended and bound each of them on a cross, where they shall each of them have their right hands cut off, and their arms, legs, and breasts, pinched with red hot pincers, till pieces of the flesh are torn away. They shall then have their bellies ripped up from bottom to top, and their hearts thrown in their faces; after which, their heads shall be cut off, and fixed upon a post; and their bodies, being torn in pieces, shall be exposed to the fowls of the air without the city, in whatever place the government shall please to direct.

"The other four criminals, Maja Praja, Sana Suta, otherwise Wangsa, Suta Chitra, and Layeck, are to be each of them bound upon a cross, and have their respective right hands cut off, their arms, thighs, and breasts, pinched, their bellies ripped open, and their hearts thrown in their faces, and their limbs exposed upon a wheel in the usual places, there to become a prey to birds. The other ten criminals shall be each of them tied upon a cross on the scaffold, and, in case there be not room on the scaffold itself, on a place near it, where they

discovery and defeat of this horrible conspiracy. The house of Erberfeld was razed to the ground; and on the spot where it stood is still to be seen a rude death's head with a mimic spike through the scull, underneath which is an inscription in European and native languages, which expresses the vindictive feeling of the moment, in a declaration, that no house shall ever again stand on the spot where was framed the *wicked* conspiracy of Erberfeld!

The most atrocious of all the acts of the Dutch administration in Java, and the observation may be extended to all their possessions in the Indies, is the famous massacre of the Chinese. These people, encouraged to leave the crowded ranks of

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shall be broken alive, without receiving the *coup de grace.* They shall be afterwards carried to the ordinary place of execution, and there exposed on a wheel, and guarded so long as they shall live there; and, after they expire, be left a prey to the birds. The other three, Tomboam, Grambiek, and Mitas, are condemned to be each of them tied to a stake, and there strangled, till they are dead. Their bodies shall be then carried, like the rest, to the common place of execution, and there exposed on wheels for the nourishment of the birds. We likewise further condemn the said criminals to the costs and expences of justice, and to the confiscation of half their effects: This being paid, renouncing all further pretensions. Done and decreed in the assembly of my lords the counsellors of justice, this Wednesday the 8th of April, all the judges, except Mr Craivanger, being present."—Roggewein's Voyage, in Harris' Collection, Vol. I. p. 285.

their own country by the fertility of Java, its commerce, and the comparative security which the vigour of European arms and legislation ensured to their properties, had settled and colonized in the island in great numbers. The conscious weakness of the Dutch rendered them jealous of the power, the numbers, and wealth of this class of their subjects. They goaded them by excessive taxations, arbitrary punishments, and frightful executions. The intelligence, numbers, and nationality of the Chinese, made this systematic oppression insupportable to them. Unlike the less civilized inhabitants of the country, though under local circumstances so much less advantageous, they felt their capacity of combining for resistance, and being once fairly committed, their ambition prompted them to look to the dominion of the island. Both Javanese and Dutch writers detail the circumstances of the massacre, and from their accounts, it is no difficult matter to collect the most instructive facts connected with it. The persecution and oppression of the Chinese took a more active character from the year 1730; but it was not until the year 1740 that the revolt commenced. The matter was brought to a crisis by the forcible seizure of a number of Chinese, and their deportation to Ceylon, under pretext of their being engaged in committing irregularities in the vicinity of Batavia. On this event, the Chinese in the vi-

cinity of the city, who were not restrained by the direct presence of a military force, flew to arms, assembled a large force, and, as usual in such circumstances, and among such a people, committed acts of violence, excess, and cruelty. On this some of their countrymen in the city were tortured, and on the authority so obtained, a story of a *wicked* and *long-meditated* conspiracy to destroy the Dutch was got up by the European authorities. Between the Dutch troops, and the armed mob of Chinese in the environs, several indecisive actions took place. On the 7th day of October it was discovered that the Chinese quarter of the town was on fire. This was construed into an artifice to mask an attempt to murder the European inhabitants, in the confusion of the conflagration. The habitual timidity of the Dutch colonists took the alarm. The massacre of the Chinese inhabitants of Batavia forthwith commenced, and was in a few hours formally authorized by an order of *the Regency*, which directed that none but the women and children should be spared. A band of brutal sailors was landed from the fleet in the roads to carry this order into effect. The doors of the Chinese houses were burst open, and the inhabitants dragged out and massacred, without offering the smallest resistance.* The city was in a state

* "They made no more resistance than a nest of young

of conflagration, and nothing was to be seen throughout but fire, murder, and rapine, victims, and executioners. It was not until the twenty-second of the same month that an armistice was proclaimed. Those massacred in the town of Batavia alone, on this occasion, are reckoned, by the Dutch themselves, not to have fallen short of ten thousand. The effects of this abominable act of tyranny were felt from one extremity of Java to the other. The Chinese who escaped the slaughter marched to the east, leagued with the Susunan, not less willing than themselves to be rid of the common oppressor, and a series of revolts, wars, or rebellions, was the consequence, which continued, for a period of fifteen years, to desolate the fairest portions of the island, and to exhaust its resources. It would be superfluous here to dwell upon these transactions, which are narrated at sufficient length in the native history of Java.

From the termination of these contests, to the year 1810, has been a period of almost profound peace in the Dutch annals of Java. From the mere negative advantages of tranquillity,—though with the privation of foreign commerce,—with the existence of injudicious and harassing monopolies, —and, in other matters, with a system of internal po-

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mice," is the homely, but strong expression of the Javanese annalist.

licy and regulation, neither liberal nor judicious, the country has prospered to an unexampled degree, its agriculture has greatly increased, and its population has been probably tripled. Here it cannot escape notice, that the period of the decline and weakness of the Dutch power, both in Europe and India, is just the same as the period of the prosperity of this great colony. While the ability to exercise a mischievous ambition, and to inflict the most grievous and absurd restrictions lasted, the island was in a perpetual state of desolation and anarchy. From the moment that that ability ceased to exist, order and tranquillity were restored, and prosperity was progressive and rapid.

Having rendered this account of the policy pursued by the Dutch in Java, I shall proceed to offer a short account of their proceedings in the more western countries of the Archipelago, chiefly considering Sumatra and Malacca under this head. These countries, less fertile, less improved, and less populous than Java, afforded them, from these causes, and the intractableness of the rude natives, the absence of resources, and the natural difficulties opposed to invaders, in extensive and almost inaccessible regions, covered by forests, no opportunity of making permanent territorial conquests. The object of the Dutch policy in these countries had more exclusively in view the interests of the commercial monopoly, by pursu-

ing which, the countries under its influence were exhausted, the natives estranged or driven to revolt, and the most interested advocates of the system convinced, though their reasoning respecting the causes of failure may not have been accurate, that all the establishments of the Dutch in that quarter of the Archipelago at least were burthensome and useless.

Malacca, from the strength of its fortifications, resisted the Dutch power long after it had been established in the other countries of the Archipelago, and it was not until the year 1641, after a siege and blockade of five months, and a gallant defence, worthy of the best days of Portuguese heroism, that it was taken. The kings of Achin and Jehor joined in the league against the Portuguese, but the former receded on the discovery that his interests were not the object of his European allies, and the reward of the king of Jehor, who contributed in an eminent degree to the success of the enterprise, was to be laid under the severest restrictions of the commercial monopoly. All the other princes of the Peninsula, whose simplicity could be intimidated by a display of the Dutch power, or cajoled and deceived by the artifice of European intrigue, were treated in the same manner. From the cause already described, no territorial conquest was made, no internal improvement was any where effected, and,

down to the latest days of Dutch rule, the country and its inhabitants continued in the same rude and uncultivated state in which they were found. Under the destructive influence of commercial restraint, the town of Malacca itself, from its happy situation a rich emporium, even under the rude legislation of the natives themselves, dwindled into insignificance, and the monopoly of the Dutch appears to have proved more prejudicial to it than the tyranny of the Portuguese, and the invasions of its territory by foreign enemies, to which *their* lawless ambition gave rise.

The struggles maintained by the Dutch in Java and the Moluccas prevented them, for a long time, from turning their arms to Sumatra, less inviting by its fertility, and the value of its productions, and more difficult to subdue. The most powerful, civilized, and commercial state of that island was Achin, and here the Dutch made repeated efforts to insinuate themselves, and establish their commercial system. The prince of Achin, who, from the extent of his intercourse with the foreign nations of Asia, had a thorough knowledge of the benefits of commerce, alone, of all the potentates of the Archipelago, resisted the insidious attempts of the Dutch, and other European nations. In the year 1664, the Dutch had leisure to extend their ambitious views to Sumatra; and, in that year, they rendered themselves masters of the whole

of the west coast of that island, from *Sillebar* to *Barus*. In the same year they captured and burnt the town of *Palembang*, and forced upon the prince of that country, from the value of its productions, and the advantages of its situation, one of the finest trading positions of the Archipelago, one of their commercial, or rather anti-commercial treaties. The country of the *Lampungs* they got possession of in virtue of their influence over the councils of the king of Bantam, who pretended a claim to it. In the same manner, they got possession of *Landak* and *Succadana*, in Borneo; and their mercantile influence was in time established, with all its destructive influence, in *Banjermassin*. Whatever native state was, from distance, or natural strength of situation, incapable of being brought under this thraldom, was proclaimed to be hostile, barbarous, and piratical. Their avarice was stimulated by two products, for which those two islands are distinguished, gold and pepper; and to obtain these, under their compulsory regulations, constituted the whole objects of their administration, which, in every branch, was constantly subservient to these contemptible and unattainable views. In their efforts to draw a profit from the gold mines, their cupidity was signally punished by a heavy loss in the pursuit, and their persecution of the industry of the natives, in regard to the pepper, was accompanied by the almost total annihilation of that important article of traffic. The weakness of their power in

Sumatra prevented them from urging their peculiar principles, to the extent to which they were carried in Java and the Moluccas, and the inhabitants of that country continued generally more passive under their authority. Several revolts, however, took place. Within one year of their possession, the inhabitants of *Pao*-rose on the Dutch garrisons, and murdered them. A revolt took place in 1670, within six years of their conquest, and another in 1680, which required the aid of large military forces from Batavia to suppress them.

I come to the third and last branch into which this chapter is divided, an account of the Dutch history of the Spice Islands. It was, perhaps, in these islands, that the most baneful influence of their policy was experienced. The spices were the most desired objects of European avarice; the people were generally less powerful, less civilized, numerous and warlike, than the western tribes, and their country, consisting of numerous small isles, could be more easily overrun and subjugated. The first of these causes prompted the Dutch to make the most vigorous efforts for their subjugation, and the rest facilitated the enterprise, so that the Spice Islands are more completely under European domination, than any other portion of the Indian Islands.

The hatred of the people of the Moluccas towards the Portuguese, made them readily join the Dutch in driving them from the Moluccas; but

the rapacity of the latter was too open for their artifices, and the natives were scarcely acquainted with them, when they were as desirous of being rid of these new guests as of the former. As early as the year 1606, the king of Ternate attempted to league the princes of the Moluccas against the Dutch for their expulsion, but was baffled by the jealousy of his neighbours. In 1613, the Dutch had the dexterity, in pursuance of their exclusive system, to inveigle the greater number of the native princes of the Moluccas into treaties, conferring upon themselves the exclusive *right of buying cloves.* Whether any actual imposition was practised in framing these treaties is not certain, but that the natives were wholly unaware of the ruinous consequences to their industry, comfort, and independence, which resulted from fulfilling them, cannot admit of a doubt. They had been long accustomed to a free traffic with all the commercial nations of Asia, and the unnatural restraints to which, under the mask of *protection* and *friendship*, they were subjected, could not but be disagreeable to them. The infringement of the treaties was the obvious interest of the prince and his subjects. The Dutch insisted upon their fulfilment, and resenting every infraction of those iniquitous compacts, made them the pretext for all the wars, persecutions, and invasions, which desolated the country, with little interruption, down to the year 1681, embracing a period of seventy years.

The unfortunate natives, in these contests, behaved with courage and perseverance, virtues which would have been successful in the expulsion of the invader, but for the disunion and feebleness incident to their geographical situation, and to their want of civilization. To illustrate the characters of the contending parties, I shall now run rapidly over a few of the most prominent circumstances of the contest. The inhabitants of the *Banda,* or Nutmeg Isles, were the first to resist, and, in 1615, their destruction was resolved upon. A large fleet and military expedition sailed against them, but the Bandanese, conducting themselves with extraordinary courage, the Dutch were defeated on this occasion, and the governor-general, who accompanied the troops, died of chagrin on account of the failure. The following year the Bandanese were subdued and forced into treaties, more hostile to their commercial interests and prosperity than ever.

In 1620 the Bandanese had again revolted, if this expression can be applied to their resistance of foreign aggression. The direct charge made against them on this occasion was, that *they sold the produce of their country to strangers.* The Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, fomented the quarrel between the natives; and, blind to their own aggressions, could easily see the injustice of their rivals. At the period of this last revolt of the people of the Banda Isles, the Dutch and Eng-

lish were reconciled to each other, and the latter *now* saw no harm in subduing the inoffending Bandanese. The English commissioners only declared *their inability, from want of means,* to join in a league for their subversion. The Dutch governor-general, happy at their excusing themselves, *piously* declared that he would undertake the enterprise with the assistance of *heaven*, which he boasted had hitherto been so favourable to him. This crusade ended in the total subjugation of the Banda Isles, in the year 1621, in spite of the efforts of the English, who, keeping as little faith with their European allies as with the natives, assisted the latter against the former. The island of *Lontar* alone long resisted; the natives betook themselves to the mountains, where in time they were starved and hunted down, until at length the survivors, a poor remnant of 800 persons, surrendered themselves, and were transported to Batavia. Such was the termination of the expedition, which a Dutch governor-general of the Indies undertook in reliance upon the assistance of heaven!

The inhabitants of Amboyna, and the other *Clove Isles*, unable to endure the despotic commercial arrangements of the Dutch, were in arms almost as early as the people of Banda, and, as they were more numerous and powerful, their resistance was more formidable and long continued.

In the year 1623 took place the famous massa-

cre of Amboyna, an affair of European history, which it is not my province to relate. In itself a transaction sufficiently execrable, and affording, perhaps, the most revolting and hateful example of the consequences of the commercial rivalry of European nations, in enormity, it falls far short of many of the calamities inflicted by the European nations on the natives of the country. The insurrections of the people of Ternate continued down to the year 1638, when assuming a more formidable aspect, the presence of the governor-general was twice thought necessary.

The Dutch used the king of Ternate, whom they had in their hands, as the tool of their views; and this prince, with an insincerity to be expected in his situation, secretly encouraged and abetted the resistance of his subjects. One of the bravest of these, Louhou, the governor of a distant province, exhausted by long resistance, and deserted by his people, made his peace with the Dutch, and came over with his family. He, his mother, sister, and brother, were perfidiously seized and beheaded!

From this time, until the termination of the resistance of the people of Ternate, the noblest persons of the country were seized in numbers, and executed without mercy. *Tulukabässi*, a chief of Amboyna who had made a long resistance, was at length induced to surrender himself. He was exe-

cuted, though he offered to embrace Christianity to save his life, an honour, says the Dutch historian, of which he was deemed unworthy!

From the year 1650 to 1653, the insurrection of Amboyna assumed a more formidable aspect than ever. A monster of energetic character, called Vlaming, was governor, and wantoned in blood and executions." I shall give a few examples of his proceedings. The Dutch had agreed to take any quantity of cloves tendered by the natives *at a fixed price*, and although this fixed price was lower than the people had been accustomed to receive from the other strangers that resorted to their market, still the quantity brought in was too great for the restricted consumption to which the abuses of the monopoly necessarily gave rise. Vlaming resolved upon the destruction of the cloves every where but at Amboyna, the immediate seat of the Dutch power, where he imagined production might be restricted to the limited demands of the monopoly market. The natives were exasperated to the last degree by this iniquitous and unheard of invasion of property, and flew to arms to defend their just rights. Even the chiefs who owed their promotion to the Dutch influence revolted, and all the islands were involved in a general insurrection.

On the 28th of August 1650, Vlaming ordered the execution of twenty nobles. Some were strangled,—others broken on the wheel,—and others cast

into the sea and drowned, by beating them with bludgeons. A Mahomedan priest leaped from a redoubt and fractured a limb. The brutal governor ordered him to repeat the leap, which cost him his life!

On his return to Amboyna, Vlaming ordered a new execution, as well of those who had surrendered at discretion, or promise of pardon, as of those taken prisoners. Fifteen chiefs were executed on this occasion, among whom were two petty kings. The most distinguished of the sufferers was the heroic *Terbile*, who, appearing on the scaffold with an undaunted countenance, which astonished his persecutors, hastened to present his bare neck to the axe.

Even the natives converted to Christianity rose against their oppressors. The most remarkable of these was *John Pays*, a native of Amboyna, distinguished for his eloquence as a teacher of Christianity, and adding to the effects of that eloquence, the authority of birth, office, and fine qualities. This nobleman, with many others, was executed *at night*, for fear the spectacle might occasion a tumult among the inhabitants. Next day the governor, having assembled the native troops, suddenly produced the bloody heads of the sufferers by way of striking terror into the survivors.

The Prince *Saydi*, the chief of the patriot insurgents, was at length taken by the treachery of one

of his companions. Before he was overpowered he made a gallant resistance, and when he fell was covered with wounds, and exhausted with loss of blood. In this situation he was brought before Vlaming, who insulted him with vulgar raillery, and, pushing the shaft of his spear into his mouth, bid him wake from his sleep. The dying chief was neither able nor willing to reply, but had strength enough remaining to turn his head aside, and avert his eyes from the hateful spectacle of the enemy of his country. The governor abandoned him to the fury of the Dutch soldiers, who cut him to pieces, and threw his quivering members over the precipices of the mountain, in the fastnesses of which he was captured.

The last act of Vlaming was the murder of the king of Gilolo, who was accidentally taken prisoner in passing from one island to another. He and five-and-twenty of his family, the women and children only being spared, were put to death, and, for fear of a commotion among the people, they were *privately drowned* at midnight!

The inhabitants of the Moluccas continued to carry on the war, though with less vigour, down to the year 1671, when, as generally happens in tropical climes, when the regular industry of man, and his natural pursuits, are interrupted by a long succession of wars and intestine convulsions, a violent epidemic afflicted the country, the effects of which

were aggravated by earthquakes in that year, in 1673 and 1674, which were also themselves the direct cause of the loss of many lives.

The last insurrection of the people of the Moluccas broke out in 1680, and continued during the whole of that and the following year. These were the last efforts of those islanders to maintain their independence. Enfeebled and broken-spirited by their ineffectual efforts, they submitted from this time. The Dutch were now enabled to carry their principles of commercial policy into the most rigid practice. The consumption of spices decreased as their price rose, and the Spice Islands henceforth ceased to be of value and importance.

The monopoly of the spices was secured by the conquest of Macassar in the year 1669. It was the avidity of the Dutch to secure the monopoly of the spices, and the natural hostility of the people of Celebes, towards those who unjustly and violently excluded them from a traffic in which they had so long and so extensively engaged, one which was so beneficial to them, and so natural to their geographical and moral situation, which produced the long wars between them, the incidents of which are given in the native history of that island. It need hardly be remarked, that the commercial and political importance of Celebes ceased with the loss of its independence, and its subjection to the commercial shackles of Dutch policy.

It will be unnecessary to quote further examples of the consequences of the Dutch domination in the Archipelago, and enough has been said to illustrate the nature of the influence which it has produced upon the character and destinies of the native inhabitants.

CHAPTER X.

SPANISH HISTORY OF THE ARCHIPELAGO.

Spanish influence confined to the Philippines.—Policy pursued by the Spaniards, with all its vices, superior to that of any other European government established in the Archipelago.—Sketch of that Policy.—Discovery of the Philippines by Magellan.—Philippines neglected for the Moluccas.—First attempt to conquer the Philippines.—Conquest of Zebu by Legaspi.—Luconia invaded.—Causes to which the facility of the early conquest of it is to be ascribed.—Foundation of the city of Manila.—Causes which have proved a barrier to the progress of the Spanish conquests.—Effects which result from the proximity of China to the Philippines.—Manila attacked by the Chinese rebel Limahon, and nearly taken.—Chinese employed as rowers, in an expedition against the Moluccas, murder the Governor of the Philippines, who commanded, and the crew of his galley.—First Massacre of the Chinese, when thirty thousand are cut off.—Emperor of China demands an explanation, and is easily satisfied.—Second Massacre of the Chinese, when twenty-three out of thirty thousand are cut off.—The Philippines threatened with an invasion by Coxinga, the conqueror of Fomosa, which they escape by the sudden death of that able and ambitious leader.—Spaniards expel the Chinese from the Philippines.—Powerful causes springing from the principle of population in China, and the locality of the Philippines have induced the inhabitants of the former country to settle in numbers in

the latter.—Absurd arguments of the Spaniards for the expulsion of the Chinese refuted.—Chinese return to the Philippines.—A royal edict for their absolute expulsion not carried into effect by the local administration.—Royal edict carried into effect, and its consequences.—Chinese return by slow degrees, and are as numerous as ever.—Character of the Japanese, and their intercourse with the Spaniards of the Philippines.—Emperor of Japan sends a mission claiming vassalage from the Philippines.—He meditates their conquest about the period of his persecution of the Christians in the empire.—Emperor of Japan sends a friendly mission to Manila.—A first and second revolt of the Japanese in the Philippines.—The intercourse with Japan finally terminated by the famous edict of the Japanese empire, excluding itself from the intercourse of the world.—Political intercourse between the Spaniards and the independent nations of the Archipelago.—General reflections on the intercourse of Europeans with the more powerful nations of the Archipelago.—Futile attempts of the Spaniards to conquer Sooloo and Mindanao.—Retributive measures of the inhabitants of those islands.—Wars of the Spaniards with European nations in the Archipelago.—Conquest of the Moluccas five times attempted.—Conquest of Manila by the English.—Plunder the object of those who planned the expedition.—Extravagant opinion of the wealth of Manila.—Narrative of the Conquest.—Animadversion on the conduct of the captors.—British conquest never extended beyond the neighbourhood of the city.—Population of the country defend it after the destruction of the regular military force.—Important and interesting conclusions to be drawn from this unusual circumstance.

The influence of the Spanish nation in the Moluccas was of short duration, and limited extent;

and, while the Indian possessions of Portugal were under the crown of Spain, they were wholly administered by Portuguese, and on the Portuguese principles of government. The influence of the Spanish government on the fortunes and history of the inhabitants of the Archipelago, therefore, may be said to be confined to the Philippines. In this extensive and important portion of the Indian islands, it has been peculiarly active; and a historical sketch of its proceedings will prove interesting and instructive.

It is remarkable, that the Indian administration of one of the worst governments of Europe, and that in which the general principles of legislation and good government are least understood,—one, too, which has never been skilfully executed,—should, upon the whole, have proved the *least injurious* to the happiness and prosperity of the native inhabitants of the country. This, undoubtedly, has been the character of the Spanish connection with the Philippines, with all its vices, follies, and illiberalities; and the present condition of these islands affords an unquestionable proof of the fact. Almost every other country of the Archipelago is, at this day, in point of wealth, power, and civilization, in a worse state than when Europeans connected themselves with them three centuries back. The Philippines alone have improved in civilization, wealth, and populousness. When discovered,

most of the tribes were a race of half-naked savages, inferior to all the great tribes, who were pushing, at the same time, an active commerce, and enjoying a respectable share of the necessaries and comforts of a civilized state. Upon the whole, they are at present superior in almost every thing to any of the other races. This is a valuable and instructive fact, and the cause deserves to be traced. This, I imagine, is no difficult task. In the first place, the Spanish government has never, in the case of its Indian dominions, pursued, like other nations, the visionary and pernicious principle of drawing a direct profit from the commercial industry of its colonies, by appearing in the character of the sole or chief merchant. On the contrary, private industry, though injudiciously shackled, has been permitted *some* scope, and the wholesome principles of competition have had *some* operation. The Spanish government has rested satisfied with deriving a revenue from a fixed capitation tax on its native subjects; and, however heavy in amount, or iniquitous in the collection, it has, on the whole, proved less prejudicial to improvement than the restrictions of other European nations on the agriculture and industry of their subjects. But, above all, the prosperity of the Philippines has been owing to the freedom given to European colonization; a freedom which it has been the *idle glory* of our nation, in particular, to withhold, or to restrict, un-

der the mask, or under the delusion, of benefiting the natives. The Spaniards permitted to their countrymen a perfect freedom of colonization, and the unappropriated lands were freely distributed among them. They have mixed with the native inhabitants, and lived familiarly with them. The consequence has been, that, through the medium of religious or other instruction, and general communication, the influence of the genius and manners of Europe has been felt by the native races, and produced corresponding benefits.

We can be at no loss to see to what circumstance in their situation the Philippines owe the superiority of the policy pursued in regard to them. Fortunately for them, they happened to produce none of the commodities for which the avarice of Europeans was in search. They produced neither the rich spiceries of the more western islands, nor the fine manufactures of the continental nations; and were, therefore, saved from the usual depredation upon industry

The Philippines, as is well known, were discovered by the illustrious, but unfortunate Magellan, in the course of *the first* circumnavigation of the globe, in the year 1521, ten years after the conquest of Malacca by the Portuguese. It was the *search for spices* which led to the accomplishment of the circumnavigation of the globe, and the discovery of the Philippines, as well as to the more splendid achieve-

ments of Columbus and Di Gama, all of them the most striking events in the history of mankind. The first land which Magellan made, after quitting the western shore of America, was the port of *Batuan*, in the great island of *Mindanao*, from whence he sailed into the midst of the cluster, and touched at *Zebu*. He was hospitably received, both at Batuan and Zebu, by the wondering natives; but this man of genius wanted prudence and moderation, and was strongly tinctured with the indiscreetest religious zeal, the vice of his age. By planting a cross in Zebu, and sprinkling a little water on the king and his family, with some of his subjects, he imagined himself *establishing* the Christian religion. The petty prince of the insignificant islet of Mactan, which lies opposite the great island of Zebu, happened to be a man endowed with a strength of mind above the fears of his countrymen, and saw in the Spaniards nothing but what was mortal. He challenged Magellan to combat, who, with the characteristic chivalry of his time, accepted the challenge. Fifty Spaniards in armour entered the lists against a host of native adversaries,—they were decoyed into a marsh, and, fighting up to their necks in water, the great navigator, with six of his companions, lost their lives. The rest saved themselves by a precipitate flight, and the result convinced the people of Zebu that their visitors were mere men, perhaps that

they were dangerous invaders, for the king sought, by treachery, to destroy those whom he had at first received with so much hospitality.

The companions of Magellan sailed for the Moluccas, and, touching at Tidor, were entertained by the prince of that island with the kindest hospitality, received a supply of refreshments, and cargoes of the precious products of the country. Such was the first intercourse of the Spaniards with India and the Philippines. On the strength of the discovery of Magellan, the Spaniards founded their claims to the Philippines; and, by virtue of the line of demarcation drawn by the Pope, though the Portuguese reached them more early, they asserted their claims to the country of the spices, the primary object of the search of both. For them, the Philippines were wholly neglected, and the emperor Charles the Fifth, fitting out a squadron in the year 1523, it reached the Moluccas in the following year, and made a permanent, but a feeble establishment in *Tidor*. The Spaniards and Portuguese now disputed the possession of the Moluccas, and war was on the point of being declared between the two countries, when the needy emperor mortgaged his claim for the sum of 350,000 ducats.

In the year 1642, the emperor made an ineffectual attempt to conquer the Philippines. The expedition, never reached farther than the little

island of *Sanagan*, which lies off the southern coast of Mindanao, and the sole result of the expedition, according to the Spanish writers, was *the baptism of one child*, and the bestowing *the name of the Prince of Asturias* upon the whole Archipelago. The fleet was scattered, and the whole armament almost annihilated. Such, indeed, with the navigators of those times, was the smallness and insufficiency of their barks, their own unskilfulness, their want of particular experience, and their general ignorance, that nothing short of the highest zeal, and most intrepid determination, could have insured success in the undertakings they achieved.

It was not until the year 1566, forty-five years after their first discovery, that the Spaniards conquered, or rather appeared for the purpose of conquering the Philippines. The person to whom this achievement was allotted was a noble Spaniard, whose name was *Miguel Lopez de Legaspi*. He made his first appearance in the southern island of *Bohol*, with one of the petty kings of which place he swore friendship, by undergoing with his majesty the ceremony of *losing blood from their arms, each drinking the blood of the other*, according to the strange practice of the country. From Bohol, where they were hospitably entertained, the Spaniards proceeded to Zebu, which they determined to conquer, and the

pretext was the treachery of the people to the companions of Magellan, forty-five years before.

The inhabitants resisted the invaders ineffectually, and finally were reconciled to them. Such was the poverty of the people of this island, and the little progress they had made in agricultural industry, that the arrival of the few Spaniards who accompanied Legaspi brought on a famine, which was scarcely relieved by the inadequate supplies brought by traffic, but oftener by plunder, from the neighbouring islands. For four years they struggled with scarcity, and the attempts of the Portuguese to drive them from their acquisitions. In 1569, the establishment was removed to the island of *Panay*, and in 1571 the conquest of Manila was made. The people of this portion of the Philippines were more improved than the rest, and had some knowledge of fire-arms, but the feebleness of their resistance is sufficiently declared, when we understand that two hundred and eighty Spaniards effected their subjugation. The people fled on the appearance of the Europeans, but by the discreet conduct of Legaspi, they were brought back, and a reconciliation effected. Legaspi was a man of conduct and talents, well fitted to the important duties he had to perform, and to his dexterous and prudent management, as well as the weakness of the opposition he met with, is to be attributed the success of the enterprise. The influence of reli-

gion had also a large share in it. The expedition was accompanied by a number of priests, who were actively employed in the pious office of converting the simple natives; and it may be safely asserted, that the benevolent influence of religion has had, from the earliest to the latest period of the Spanish authority in these islands, the most powerful ascendancy in the civilization of the people, and in reconciling them to their conquerors.

The Spaniards now founded the city of Manila, and by this measure, which took place in the year 1571, their power may be considered as established. Resistance was frequently made to their arms, but its amount in any one place was trifling, for even the people of *Luconia*, the most civilized of the Philippines, divided, like all savages, into numerous petty communities, incapable of combining to resist an invader, proved but a feeble enemy.

The same circumstance, the division of the people into many tribes of different conditions of civilization, and speaking many languages, with the subsequent weakness of the Spanish nation, and the hostile and savage habits acquired by the tribes not at first subdued, are what have since opposed the greatest obstacles to the Spanish arms, and hindered the total subjugation of the country. A people united as one nation, with

the same political institutions, and the same language, accustomed to obey the same authority, would, in the first encounter, as in the case of the Mexicans, the Peruvians, and the Malays of Malacca, have made a respectable resistance, but when once overcome, would bow their necks to the yoke.

The manner and principle on which the Spanish conquests were effected, being once described, the history of their intercourse with the natives of Luconia, and of the other islands, which submitted directly to their authority, affords nothing sufficiently prominent or interesting to deserve particular recital. The natives suffered endless oppressions from private aggression, or the injustice of public measures, and lost no opportunity of attempting to get rid of the Spanish yoke. Many of the more savage tribes retired to the mountains, preserving their national independence to this day, and bearing an implacable hatred to the Spanish name. The most interesting portions of the history of the period of two centuries and a half, which has elapsed since the first permanent conquest, are,—the history of the wars and quarrels of the colonial government, with the Chinese, foreign or domestic,—with the neighbouring Mahomedan states,—with the Japanese,—and with European nations. Of all these the most striking incidents will be shortly narrated in their turns. The facts are curious in themselves, and tend in

every case to throw a strong light on the character of the Spanish influence on the destinies of the native inhabitants.

Among the islands of the Indian Archipelago, one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Philippines, is their proximity to China. They owe to this situation their great commercial advantages, but they owe to it too, considering the weakness of the European nation which governs them, some political disadvantages. They are the only portion of the Archipelago in any measure assailable to the clumsy military force and imperfect naval power of the Chinese empire, or the depredations of its rebellious subjects. The eastern end of Luconia is little more than four hundred miles, or three days' sail from the coast of the Chinese province of *Fokien*, and scarce half the distance from the southern extremity of *Formosa*. This propinquity of situation excites the jealousy of both nations, and would be felt by the Chinese to a keener degree, were their European rivals a people of more enterprise and activity.

The Chinese appear, in almost all ages of their history, to have carried on a traffic with the Philippines, and to have been sufficiently aware of their situation. Considering, however, the character of the Chinese and of the natives of the country, as Europeans found them, there is no good reason to credit the assertion of the former, that these

islands constituted a portion of their empire, and that *they* colonized them.*

Scarce were the Spaniards established at Manila, before they experienced the consequences of their vicinity to China. A powerful rebel of the empire, named by the Spaniards *Limahon*, had long infested the coasts of China, and now with a force of

* The ignorance and feebleness of the Chinese empire, down to the most recent period of its history, before Europeans came into their neighbourhood, are unequivocally confirmed by the state in which the latter found the island of Formosa and the Philippines, the first not 20 leagues from their coast, and the latter not above 150. By the Chinese accounts, Formosa was not discovered until 1430, and then only by pure accident. It lay after this wholly unnoticed for one hundred and thirty-four years. In fact, it was not peopled by the Chinese until after 1661, when Europeans had made it worth occupying, and showed them the way to it. The Philippines were, probably, a little better and earlier known, because more in the direct course of the monsoons, and because they afforded *some* of those commodities of their peculiar luxury, in quest of which they had been making still more distant voyages into the more abundant and richer islands of the west. That the Philippines formed no integral portion of the Chinese empire, any more than Formosa, is proved beyond the reach of doubt, by the absence of a Chinese population, or very decided admixture of it; by the absence of any relics of the Chinese language, arts, or institutions. Scarce was the road pointed out by Europeans, and the jealousy of the Chinese excited, than they were anxious to possess, what their supineness had neglected in all previous ages of their history. —*Duhalde's Description of China*, Vol. I.

upwards of sixty junks, and several thousand men, sailed to Manila, induced, perhaps, to this enterprise by the accounts he had received of the riches of the Spaniards, which he did not doubt, considering their weakness, would easily fall into his hands. After a spirited attempt upon the new colony, in which he met a gallant, but not very skilful resistance, he was beat off; but permitted to make his escape, after ravaging the coasts of the island for many months.

The neighbourhood of the Philippines to China afforded, at all times, so convenient and natural an outlet to the overflowing population of the latter country, that the Chinese, in spite of all oppression, constantly poured over. At an early period, from the causes already enumerated, and the monopolizing spirit of the resident European colonists, to whom the fair competition, occasioned by the industry of the Chinese, was odious; the resident Chinese became objects of jealousy and hatred. These, finding themselves persecuted and distrusted, became dissatisfied in their turn, and naturally not the most loyal subjects. In the year 1593, the Spaniards from the Philippines fitted out an expedition against the Moluccas; and the governor, *Dasmarinas*, accompanied it. A hundred and fifty Chinese had been pressed as rowers into the governor's galley, and were urged to their labour by stripes. The governor's ship was separat-

ed from the rest of the fleet, and had not got clear of the islands, when the Chinese rose on the crew and murdered the whole, the governor included. In the same year a great number of Chinese resorted to Manila, and among others some men of rank, who excited the suspicion of the Spaniards.

In the year 1603 took place the first massacre of the Chinese. In that year the Emperor of China sent three Mandarines on a mission to Manila, to ascertain the truth respecting a report which had reached him, *that the fort of Cavito was constructed of gold.* The Spaniards concluded them to be spies, and declared them to be the forerunners of an army of 100,000 men for the conquest of the Spanish possessions. No such army ever arrived, or probably was ever intended, but the apprehensions of the Spaniards connected this circumstance, with the insurrection of the Chinese, which soon after followed, but which was, in fact, brought on by their own jealous and oppressive measures. A rich Chinese of Manila, who had embraced the religion of the Spaniards, and lived on terms of great intimacy with them, undertook, as a work of munificence to gratify his countrymen, to build a stone wall round *their* quarter of the suburbs. The work was openly and unsuspectingly commenced upon, but the jealousy of the Spaniards was roused by it. They conjured the story of a conspiracy to murder the Christians, and the massacre of the

Chinese, already twenty-five thousand in number, was resolved upon. The Chinese retired into the country, and made a slender defence. Twenty-three thousand were massacred, and the poor remnant made their escape to China.

The Chinese government does not appear always to have acted on the same principle of entire indifference respecting those who emigrate from China, as it is alleged to have done in the case of the Dutch massacre at Batavia; for, after the present one, the emperor sent a mission to Manila to inquire into the cause of the slaughter of his countrymen. The Spanish writers assert, that the governor of the Philippines was able amply to justify himself. He must, we may conclude from this, have made an *ingenious* defence, or his Majesty of China must have been content with slender satisfaction.

By the year 1639, the Chinese had again increased to the astonishing number of thirty thousand, most of them engaged in the principal occupations of agriculture. They were again driven to revolt by oppression, and, after being hunted down for months, surrendered at discretion, reduced to the number of seven thousand. Manila was reduced to the greatest distress by the loss of so large a portion of its most industrious subjects.

In the year 1662 the Philippines were alarmed

by the greatest danger which ever threatened them. This was from the arms of *Kwe-Sing-kong*, or *Coxinga*, the fortunate rebel who conquered Formosa from the Dutch, and whose achievement affords the only great example in the east, of eminent success against European arms. Elated by his good fortune, he sent a Dominican friar to the governor of Manila, as his ambassador, demanding to be recognized as sovereign of the Philippines, and claiming tribute. The Spaniards, on this summons, were thrown into the greatest alarm. The whole of the Chinese were ordered off the island, and these people, in their distrust of the fidelity of the Spaniards, fearing their lives in danger, from their experience of the past, flew to arms. The Spaniards called in their outposts from Ternate and Mindanao; but they escaped this danger by the sudden death of Coxinga, and they had nothing to fear from his unenterprising and unwarlike son. Had Coxinga lived, the Philippines would at this day have been a province of China, and having gained such a footing, there is no saying how much farther to the west their arms might not have penetrated. Coxinga had conquered Formosa from a more powerful and skilful enemy than the Spaniards, and weak as these were in themselves, and surrounded by internal enemies, there can be no doubt but their possessions would have fallen an easy prey to an hundred thousand warlike Chinese ac-

customed to conquer, and led by so experienced and intrepid a chief as Coxinga.

In the year 1709 the Spaniards of the Philippines expelled all the Chinese from these islands. The pretexts for their expulsion were,—that they came under the mask of cultivating the land, but became traders;—that, in their occupation as traders, they became monopolists;—and that they carried off the wealth of the country to China. The natural tendency of emigration from China to the Philippines was so strong, that it is not surprising to see the Chinese use every means in their power to gain an establishment. That they should prefer the occupations of commerce to husbandry, is easily enough accounted for. The land was in possession of the Spaniards, who had a monopoly of it, and the Chinese were not so ignorant or inattentive to their own interests, as to labour for other men's advantage; they refused to be servants where they could be masters. Their capital, in the form of intelligence, enterprise, and industry, was naturally directed to commercial pursuits; where those qualifications gave them a natural and legitimate monopoly over the supineness and ignorance of the Spanish colonists. They engaged not only in the pursuits most beneficial to themselves, but to the society of which they were members also. The epithet of monopolizers is used towards them by the Spanish writers, in the vulgar and popular

sense, and they explain it, in terms which convey the highest compliment to the acuteness and intelligence of the Chinese, by accusing them of "watching narrowly the wants of the inhabitants, and the demand for the different articles of consumption, which they kept back until they rose to their price."* As to the charge of carrying off the public wealth, this is almost too vulgar and absurd for explanation. It is needless to add, that, if they carried away to China the gold and silver of the Philippines, they must have carried off what was too abundant in the country, what it was of more advantage to the country to lose than to keep. The country was not plundered of what was taken away, for an equivalent was left in the produce of Chinese industry; and to have exported produce when money was of less value, and, of course, of less use, would have been an injury to the community. Arguments like these, however obvious, were little understood by those who legislated for the Philippines, or, indeed, by any other of the European nations, similarly situated, and down to the present period, the Chinese are unwisely looked upon with an envious and illiberal eye, by the government and colonists of every nation under whose administration they reside. Notwithstanding their first expulsion, and the persecutions to which they were

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* *Zuniga*, Chap. VI.

subject, they slowly crept back to the Philippines, and in a few years were as numerous as ever.

The outcry against the Chinese was always sufficiently general in the Philippines, yet there were some whose interests were concerned in affording them protection, and by large gifts, they obtained from the avarice of those in power what their justice denied them.

The court of Madrid, with its usual hostility to every sound principle of colonial government, supported public clamour, and sent repeated orders for the expulsion of the Chinese. In the year 1649, a royal edict for their *absolute* expulsion arrived, but was evaded by the interests of those in power, and by the wisdom of an archbishop, who at the time exercised the civil government.

Two years after this order, a second was actually carried into effect, and the Chinese were expelled.* They were no sooner expelled, than the public began, from want of supplies, and want of trade, to feel the

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* "One of the *good things* which Senor Arandia effected was the expulsion of the Chinese. *He dispatched all these heathens to their own country!*—The Spaniards who interested themselves in the residence of the Chinese in Manila, represented to the governor that there would be a want of people to carry on the trade with the islands if they were expelled; and to obviate this difficulty, *he established a company of native Spaniards and mastizoes for that purpose, which, however, was found very incompetent for the task.*"—*Zuniga*, Vol. II. Cap. xii.

loss of this valuable portion of the population, and the governor who carried the measure into effect brought upon himself *public odium.*

Such has been the nature of the intercourse between the Spaniards of Manila and the Chinese. On the arrival of the English, in 1762, their animosity was again excited, and in the sketch which I shall give of that affair, the present subject will be briefly renewed.

The same circumstance of vicinity which has occasioned so great an intercourse between the Philippines and China, connected them also more intimately with the other great maritime nations of Eastern Asia, than the rest of the Archipelago, particularly before the dangerous ambition of Europeans compelled those nations to have recourse to the restrictive and precautionary policy which is now so generally adopted by them.

Among these, the most distinguished were the Japanese. Prior to their strange resolution to seclude themselves from the world, as the only practicable security against European invasion, they were found, like the Chinese, freely navigating and trading in all the countries of the Archipelago, and were chiefly distinguished from that race by a courage as remarkable as the pusillanimity of the latter.

Almost from the establishment of Manila, the Japanese traded with it, and the richest articles for domestic consumption, or for the more extensive mar-

ket of America, were of their importation. In the year 1590, the emperor of Japan sent a mission to the Philippines, claiming the vassalage of these islands, and desiring a more extended intercourse. The governor made a prudent reply, declining any discussion of the question of vassalage, but giving every encouragement to the proffered extension of commerce. The emperor was not to be dissuaded from his scheme of acquiring the sovereignty of the Philippines, and with this view was assembling an army for the conquest, when death arrested his ambitious designs. It was about this time that the dreadful persecution of the Christians commenced; and, no doubt, the hostility of the emperor towards the Philippines was excited by the imprudence of the Spanish and Portuguese priests within the empire.

In 1602 the reigning emperor of Japan sent ambassadors to Manila, entreating a continuation of the intercourse between the two countries, and begging the assistance of some Spanish shipwrights, which was declined, and in room of them a host of friars returned, whose imprudence contributed to the final expulsion of the Christians.

In 1606 the Japanese, who appear to have had a permanent residence in Manila, revolted. These people, of a more lively curiosity, and quicker imaginations than the phlegmatic Chinese, appear to have adopted the Catholic religion. The

influence of the Spanish priests restored tranquillity, and the ringleaders were sent off to their own country. Of the causes which led to this revolt we are told no particulars. A second broke out in the same year, in which many of the Japanese, who defended themselves with their usual gallantry, lost their lives. Down to the year 1629, the intercourse with the Japanese appears to have continued, for in that year an embassy arrived at Manila from the governor of the commercial province of *Nangasaki*. In the Philippines we hear no more of the Japanese, for, about eight years after this last event, the emperor of Japan issued that fixed decree, which has now for near 180 years secluded the empire from the commerce of the rest of the world. *

* It is remarkable that, at the present day, we are unable, as far as my knowledge extends, to discover a single vestige of the descendants of those Japanese, who, in our early intercourse with the Archipelago, were so numerous in almost every country of it. Like the other *great nations* of the *further east*, they tolerated the emigration of *men*, but absolutely and practically forbid that of *women*. After emigration was *wholly* put an end to, the race could not be continued as a distinct stock, but must have disappeared by mixing with some congenial class. Much similarity of manners in some respects would, at first view, induce us to believe that the Chinese would have been that class, but the rancorous hatred which is known to subsist between the two nations forbids us from be-

I come now to say a few words respecting the intercourse which has subsisted between those parts of the Philippines conquered by the Spaniards, and those which did not yield to their arms, or the nations of the surrounding countries of the Archipelago.

The power of the Spaniards does not extend beyond the immediate reach of their arms, and the influence of their religion. That power exists in the farthest corner of the Archipelago, at the greatest distance from *native civilization*, and over tribes whom they found in a half savage state. They have never established a dominion over any nation in a considerable degree civilized. The character of the nation, and of the principles on which they established themselves, seem to have been incapable of establishing, perhaps for want of forbearance or prudence, that singular empire of opinion, founded upon a supple management of the conquered, which the Dutch and English, with so little profit, have been enabled to establish in various situations. The Spaniards have either wholly conquered and colonized, or they have been entirely baffled. With the tribes of the Archipelago, their neighbours, whom they were in-

ing satisfied with this conclusion, and it is far more probable, as most of them, I believe, were Christians, that they mixed with the half-race of Europeans.

capable, after many trials, of subduing, they have ever been in a state of almost perpetual hostility. The most considerable of these neighbours are the Malays of Borneo,—the people of the Suluk or Sooloo group, and those of Mindanao.

As early as the year 1589, but 18 years after their establishment in Manila, the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Sooloo and Mindanao, but met with a complete defeat. In their turn the people of those islands fitted out predatory expeditions against the Philippines, and committed the most extensive ravages on their coasts. There is a passage in Zuniga, containing reflections on the subject of these expeditions, which, for its good sense, and the soundness of *most* of the opinions delivered in it, deserves to be quoted. "From that time to the present," * says he, "the Moors have not ceased to infest our colonies. It is incredible what a number of Indians they have made prisoners, what towns they have plundered, what villages they have annihilated, and what ships they have taken. I am inclined to think that Providence permits this as a punishment on the Spaniards, for delaying the conquest for no less a period than two hundred years, notwithstanding the expeditions and fleets that have almost an-

* The period of the expedition just mentioned.

nually been sent to attempt it. On the first arrival of the Spaniards in these seas they conquered, in a short time, all the Philippines, excepting the small island of Sooloo, part of Mindanao, and a few other very insignificant islands near them, which, to this period, have not submitted. These Moorish Indians *are certainly very valiant*, and their enmity has been drawn upon us by our own conduct; for, instead of following the laudable example of the first settlers in these islands, who brought the natives under subjection, principally by the mild interference, of the priesthood, it seems of late years to have been the object of the Spaniards, since the great increase of the lucrative commerce of Manila, to acquire, by oppression and force, lands and establishments on these islands, without any view to conciliate the natives. Those, therefore, who have been sent on different occasions to reduce the country, have, instead of attending to the object of their mission, been solicitous only to serve their own purposes, considering that as a primary, which ought to have been a secondary object; and the natives, profiting by constant experience in warfare, during which they discovered that the Spaniards were mortal like themselves, have at last become very formidable. There can be no doubt these Indians may be reduced by the same means employed with the others, that is, by sending missionaries amongst them, and a sufficient

number of Spanish stations might be established to command respect. These garrisons ought to be independent of the governor of Manila, and ought to have a chief who should reside there, directing his whole attention to the improvement of the settlement, by the extension in the country of Spanish influence, by temperate measures." *

It were useless and endless to recount all the attempts made by the Spaniards to subdue the neighbouring islands, or the invasion and incursions of the inhabitants of these upon the Spanish territories. In 1628 and 1629, two great expeditions were sent for the conquest of Sooloo, both of which utterly failed, and in the last the governor lost his life. In the year 1637, the Spaniards made a temporary conquest of Sooloo and Mindanao, which they were soon compelled to abandon. In 1645, the Malays of Borneo, and the people of Sooloo, ravaged the coasts of the Spanish islands, and the Spaniards committed reprisals, having burnt the city of Borneo, and carried off many of the inhabitants as slaves. In the year 1751, the Spaniards made their last great attempts against Sooloo, and were disgracefully beaten. The natives of those islands being joined to their Mahomedan neighbours, invaded the Philippines in their turn, and successfully desolated and laid waste the Spanish

* Zuniga, Vol. I. Chap. XII.

provinces for a period of three years. This will suffice to give us a notion of the policy pursued by the Spaniards in their relations with the neighbouring insular states.

The wars of the Spaniards in the Archipelago with the Dutch and Portuguese, produced little direct injury to the Philippines, except by the depredations upon commerce, which affected more remotely the internal prosperity of the country. But the contests for the possession of the Moluccas are to be enumerated as among the great causes which contributed to the ruin and desolation of these islands. Spain and Portugal were at first rivals for the possession of the Moluccas, and when the former acquired the dominion of the latter, a new enemy sprung up in the Dutch and English. The native princes took part in their quarrels, hoping, in vain, to find in every new pretender a protector from the oppression which in turn they were doomed to experience from all. The Spaniards were the weaker party in their contests with the Portuguese, and *then* feigned a solicitude for the welfare of the natives. When they got possession of the country, no change was made in the condition of the natives, whose sufferings, indeed, were daily aggravated to the last moment of the continuance of their government. When the Dutch presented themselves, *they* began with professions still more liberal, and with censures the most unmeasured, on the tyranny of their prede-

cessors, and, as we have already seen, their sordid and cruel management produced a longer and more extended misery, than that of either of the nations which had gone before them.

The Spaniards of the Philippines attempted the conquest of the Moluccas, from the Portuguese or Dutch, no less than five times. They sent their first expedition, as early as 1682, about ten years after the foundation of the city of Manila, and continued their efforts down to 1716, when the last great attempt was made against the whole commerce and possessions of the Philippines, by Don Juan de Silva. The Dutch supremacy was, after this, too firmly established to be shaken by the feeble power of the Philippines.

It was the ambition of the Spanish court that prompted, and, for the most part, directly ordered these fruitless expeditions, to which the capacity of the Indian possessions of Spain was never equal, and which tended to exhaust the resources of the Philippines, to retard their improvement, and afforded the local governments, in one form or other, a pretext to oppress both the natives and the Spanish colonists.

The only formidable attack ever made on the Philippines by an European power, was that of the British in 1762; and as the circumstances and consequences of it elucidate, in a very pointed and interesting manner, the nature of the Spanish admi-

nistration, in relation to the Asiatic population of the islands, I shall narrate shortly the most prominent facts which attended this celebrated expedition. It was planned and executed by the well-known Sir William Draper, who obtained a loose knowledge of the Philippines, enough for his purpose, in a visit which he made to Canton, as a valetudinarian. When the history of the enterprise is fairly considered, it will not be too much to assert that the *plunder* of Manila was *his* leading object, and probably that of most who were concerned in it. The East India Company, at least, are fully implicated in this charge, for they stipulated before-hand for *one-third of the booty*.

The British public absurdly imagined that Manila, an ill-governed settlement, and oppressed by all the devices of Spanish colonial restrictions, must be a place of great wealth. They were seduced into a belief in this mischievous phantasy,—by the dazzling and popular spectacle of the millions of dollars sent annually from America;—by the dazzling captures of Cavendish and Anson;—and by the imposing circumstance of seeing annually embarked, in a single speculation, the commercial adventures of a whole settlement, in itself one of the most obvious sources of a poverty, which it would have been more reasonable to have predicted.

In the month of September 1762, an expedition, fitted out at Madras, and consisting of a land force

of two thousand three hundred men, partly Europeans, and partly Sepoys, with nine men-of-war, appeared in the bay before the town of Manila. To oppose this force, the Spaniards had, by their own accounts, but five hundred and fifty regular troops, with a few militia, and by our's but eight hundred. In a few days five thousand Indians, by the Spanish account, and twice that number by the English, presented themselves, armed with javelins, and with bows and arrows, for the relief of the garrison, unprepared against an attack by the slovenly administration of the Spaniards, and even by an ignorance of the existence of a war with Britain. All that is connected with the military and naval management of the expedition cannot be too much praised. The European troops, who were veterans distinguished in the wars of Coromandel, behaved with the most determined gallantry and resolution. They landed in open day in a heavy surf, with the water breast-high, carrying their cartouch-boxes and muskets on their heads. Struggling against the difficulties of a season, too far advanced for military operations in these climates, they raised works against the fortifications of the town, and with great spirit and success repelled the sorties of the besieged. On the 6th of October, but twelve days after the landing was effected, the English had made a practicable breach, and they stormed

and took the place. An archbishop, who was governor, retired to the citadel, which was not tenable, and he therefore came and delivered himself up to the conquerors, with whom he entered into a capitulation, surrendering the whole of the Philippines to the King of Great Britain, and securing to the inhabitants their *lives, liberties, properties*, and domestic government, on payment of the enormous contribution of a million Sterling, or rather four millions of Spanish dollars, and an understanding that the town should be given up to pillage for *three* hours. The town was accordingly given up to plunder, which, by the Spanish account, lasted twenty-four hours. A contribution on the *rich city* of Manila, which the sanguine avarice of the captors had rated at four millions of dollars, would never realize one-fourth the sum, though some of the church plate was melted down, and the unfortunate archbishop contributed his personal plate and jewels. This dignitary, in the power of the English, was compelled to give an order for the balance on the treasury of Madrid, but his bills were most reasonably and justly protested, a treatment which the captors had the audacity to complain of as a breach of faith. It is difficult to conceive by what misapplication of language the sum extorted was called a ransom, if, particularly, the town was given up to three hours plunder, and was kept possession of, as well as a

claim laid to the surrender of the whole Philippines. Our notions of the laws of war, and views of common justice, are much refined since the conquest of Manila. Such is now the strength of public opinion against such an abuse of the right of conquest, that no military commander of our day or nation would dare to commit so open and flagrant an act of plunder. An Indian city is never treated in such a manner, even when the conduct of the conquered, by the violation of the laws of war, so frequent in Hindustan, would appear to render such severity more justifiable.*

The success of the English ended with the capture of the town and suburbs of Manila, and a few

* The *Annual Register*, the historical part of which is said, at the time, to have been conducted by Burke, eulogizes the whole conduct of the expedition. The following is the very disgusting strain in which the affair of the ransom is spoken of: "Influenced by a *generosity* familiar to our commanders, and willing to preserve so noble a city from destruction," (they were already in full possession of it,) "General Draper and the admiral, though able to command every thing, admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they enjoyed their *liberties, lives*, and *properties*, and the administration of their domestic government. A ransom of a million Sterling purchased these terms."—Annual Register for 1763, p. 13. The *virtuous* Junius, torturing the public and private life of Sir William Draper for matter of accusation, is so far from reflecting upon his extortion at Manila, that he is angry with him for being silent respecting his own claim and that of the captors.

predatory incursions, made to no effect, in the neighbouring country, during a period of ten complete months. This is the most remarkable circumstance connected with the whole transaction, and that for which it is chiefly worth mentioning. The Spaniards were true to their allegiance, and the Indians, influenced by the priests, and attachment to their religion, very generally continued to assist them, although the English had recourse to the unjustifiable means,—unjustifiable, because delusory,—of promising a remission of the tribute paid by them to the European power. The Chinese alone, heartily and universally, joined in the cause of the English, as might be expected from the cruelty and oppression with which the Spanish government had always treated them.*

* "Although the Senor Arandia had sent away all the pagan Chinese, others replaced them after his death; and the augmentation of their numbers, which took place in three years, was *incredible*. There were, besides, many Chinese Christians in *Parian*, and scattered over the provinces, and almost all of them declared for the English. The moment they took possession of Manila, these Chinese gave them every aid, and accompanied them in all their expeditions."—"Senor Anda" (the military commander, who took charge of the government after the captivity of the archbishop) "gave orders that those who escaped should be tried for their conduct, in whatever part they were found; but having found some letters, which proved that they had an understanding with those of Parian

These interesting results of the English invasion deserve the most serious consideration of all who legislate for Indian colonies. If the goodness of a government is to be judged of by the attachment of the great body of its subjects, the Spanish administration of the Philippines stands higher than any other which was ever established in the Archipelago, and probably higher than that of the British government of India, though regulated with so much greater care, skill, and moderation. In all previous invasions of the Indian settlements, of one European power by another, the moment the military strength of the invading party was overcome, the whole colony yielded at once. The conquest of the Portuguese garrison of Malacca was immediately followed by the conquest of the territory attached to it. The conquest of the strongholds of the Portuguese in the Moluccas was equivalent, as far as the overthrow of the European power was concerned, with the conquest or possession of the whole Moluccas. The defeat of the European army of the Dutch in Java, in 1811, was almost immediately followed by the

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on the subject of those commotions, he ordered *that all the Chinese in the islands should be hanged*, which orders were put in execution very generally, but when the order had been disregarded, he readily overlooked the omission."—*Zuniga*, Chap. XVI.

peaceable submission of five millions of people, and with the tranquil surrender of all the outposts. Not a native arm was willingly raised, in defence of those who held the supremacy of those countries for two centuries. All this requires no comment; the Spaniards who did not directly obstruct the natural order of conquest and colonization, established a local and permanent influence; the visionary and factitious system of other European powers was in a moment subverted, when the military power was destroyed which supported it. *

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* An historical view of the Philippine Islands, by Martinez de Zuniga. Relations des Isles Philippines, in the collection of Thevenot, Vol. I. Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde, par M Le Gentil, Tom. II.

CHAPTER XI.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

N.B.—The letters C. S. J. and H. stand respectively for the Eras of *Christ*, of *Salivana*, of *Java*, and of the *Hegira*.

C. 1160. S. 1082. H. 556.

A MALAYAN colony, first from the original country of that people, and latterly from Palembang in Sumatra, settles at the extremity of the Malayan Peninsula, under their leader, Sri Turi Buwana, and founds the city of Singhapura.

A powerful king of Java repeatedly invades the territory of the new colony.

C. 1195. S. 1117. H. 592.

Joyoboyo, king of Doho in Java, flourishes.

C. 1208. S. 1130. H. 605.

Sri Turi Buwana, king of Singhapura, dies, after a reign of forty-eight years, and is succeeded by Paduka Pekaram Wira.

C. 1223. S. 1145. H. 620.

Sri Rama Wikaram, king of Singhapura, reigns.

C. 1236. S. 1158. H. 634.

Sri Maharaja ascends the throne of Singhapura.

C. 1249. S. 1171. H. 647.

Sri Iskander Shah reigns at Singhapura.

C. 1250. S. 1172. H. 648.

Colonies from Gilolo settle in the island of Ternate.

C. 1252. S. 1174. H. 650.

The king of Java invades Singhapura, and drives the Malays from thence, who, proceeding farther west, found the city of Malacca.

C. 1257. S. 1179. H. 655.

Chicho, the first *Kolano,* or king of Ternate, reigns.

C. 1266. S 1188. H. 665.

The earliest of the temples of Brambanan in Java are built.

C. 1274. S. 1196. H. 673.

Sri Iskander Shah, who founded the city of Malacca, dies, and is succeeded by Sultan Măgat.

C. 1276. S. 1198. H. 675.

Sultan Mahomed Shah ascends the throne of Malacca. He embraces the Mahomedan religion, and takes possession of the islands of Lingga and Bintan.

C. 1277. S. 1199. H. 676.

Poit, the second king of Ternate, reigns.

C. 1284. S. 1206. H. 683.

Siale, the third king of Ternate, reigns.

C. 1290. S. 1212. H. 689.

The celebrated traveller, Marco Polo, visits the Malayan Archipelago.

C. 1296. S. 1218. H. 696.

The latest of the temples of Brambanan in Java are constructed.

C. 1298. S. 1220. H. 698.

Kalebata, the fourth king of Ternate, reigns.

C. 1304. S. 1226. H. 704.

Komala, the fifth king of Ternate, reigns.

The Javanese and Malays visit the island of Ternate for cloves, and many of them settle there.

The people of Ternate extend their conquests to some of the neighbouring islands.

C. 1317. S. 1239. H. 717.

Pacharanga Malamo, king of Ternate, reigns.

The people of Ternate come to the extraordinary resolution of adopting it as a principle, to nominate the nearest collateral male relation, instead of the lineal descendant of the reigning prince, to the throne.

C. 1319. S. 1241. H. 719.

The kingdom of Janggolo in Java, under Panji Ina Karta Pati, flourishes.

C. 1322. S. 1244. H. 722.

Sida Aarif Malamo, nephew of the last king of Ternate by his sister, succeeds to the throne.

A great number of Javanese and Arabs visit Ternate, and settle there.

The confederation of the four kings of the Moluccas is formed.

C. 1331. S. 1253. H. 732.

Paji Malamo, king of Ternate, reigns.

C. 1332. S. 1254. H. 733.

Paji Malamo, king of Ternate, is assassinated, and succeeded by Shah Alăm.

Sultan Abu Shahid ascends the throne of Malacca.

C. 1334. S. 1256. H. 735.

The people of Ternate conquer the island of Machian.

Abu Shahid, king of Malacca, is murdered, and Sultan Mozassar Shah ascends the throne.

C. 1338. S. 1260. H. 739.

The magnificent Buddhist temple of Boro Budur in Java is constructed.

C. 1340. S. 1262. H. 741.

The king of Malacca engages in a war with Siam, the sovereign of which country is killed in a battle which ensues.

C. 1343. S. 1265. H. 744.

Tulu Malamo succeeds to the throne of Ternate.

C. 1347. S. 1269. H. 748.

Boheyat succeeds to the throne of Ternate.

C. 1350. S. 1272. H. 751.

Molomat Cheya, king of Ternate, reigns.

An Arabian adventurer instructs the king of Ternate in the Arabian language, and in the art of ship-building.

The people of Ternate conquer the Xulla Isles.

C. 1357. S. 1279. H. 759.

Momole, king of Ternate, reigns.

C. 1358. S. 1281. H. 760.

Gapi Malamo, king of Ternate, reigns.

By the assistance of the emigrants from Java and Celebes, who resorted in numbers to Ternate, the power of that country is greatly increased.

C. 1366. S. 1288. H. 768.

Laomasah, king of Boni in Celebes, ascends the throne.

C. 1372. S. 1294. H. 774.

Gapi Baguna the First, reigns in Ternate.

The king of Ternate succeeds to the throne of Gilolo.

C. 1374. S. 1296. H. 776.

Sultan Mansur Shah ascends the throne of Malacca.

C. 1377. S. 1299. H. 779.

Kămala Pulu, king of Ternate, reigns.

The king of Ternate acquires the first rank among the kings of the Moluccas.

Kamala Pulu, king of Ternate, succeeds, after a long and prosperous reign, in establishing the succession to the throne in his own direct line.

C. 1380. S. 1302. H. 782.

The king of Malacca espouses the daughter of the king of Java, and receives, as her marriage portion, the kingdom of Indragiri, in Sumatra.

C. 1391. S. 1313. H. 794.

An unsuccessful attempt to convert the Javanese to Mahomedanism is made by Raja Chărmen.

C. 1398. S. 1320. H. 801.

Laomasah, king of Boni in Celebes, is succeeded by his son, Lasaliwah.

C. 1412. S. 1334. H. 815.

Maulana Ibrahim, who accompanied Raja Chărmen to Java, dies at Gărsik in that island.

C. 1432. S. 1354. H. 836.

Gapi Baguna the Second, succeeds his father on the throne of Ternate.

C. 1439. S. 1361. H. 843.

The Hindu temples at Sukuh, in the mountain of Lawuh in Java, are constructed.

C. 1447. S. 1369. H. 851.

Sultan Ala 'ed-din Shah ascends the throne of Malacca.

C. 1465. S. 1387. H. 870.

Mărhum, king of Ternate, reigns.

Javanese, Malays, and Chinese, in great numbers, frequent Ternate in quest of the clove trade.

The king of Ternate, towards the close of his reign, *partially* embraces the Mahomedan religion.

C. 1470. S. 1392. H. 875.

Lasaliwah, king of Boni in Celebes, dies, and is succeeded by his daughter, Ibri Gao, called also Daeng Matewa.

C. 1477. S. 1399. H. 882.

Sultan Mahomed Shah, the second of the name, ascends the throne of Malacca.

C. 1478. S. 1400. H. 883.

The city and kingdom of Mojopahit are destroyed, and the Mahomedan religion established in Java.

C. 1480. S. 1402. H. 885.

The people of the western end of the island of Java, or the Sundas, are converted to the Mahomedan religion by Shekh Ibn Maulana, an Arab, and his family.

C. 1486. S. 1408. H. 891.

Zainalabdin, king of Ternate, reigns.

The power of the people of Ternate is spread to the islands of Boeroe, Amboyna, and Ceram.

C. 1490. S. 1412. H. 896.

Ibri Gao, queen of Boni in Celebes, dies, and is succeeded by her son, Latang ri Suki.

C. 1495. S. 1417. H. 901.

Zainalabdin, king of Ternate, embraces the Mahomedan religion, and is properly considered the

first Mussulman sovereign.—The Javanese in numbers frequent the island, with the double view of obtaining cloves for the market of *the west*, and of propagating the Mahomedan religion.

The king of Ternate visits *Giri* in Java, in order to receive instruction in the Mahomedan religion, and on his return is killed at Bima in a duel.

Husen, a native of Java, arrives at Ternate, and becomes a principal instrument in propagating the Mahomedan religion in that island.

C. 1500. S. 1422. H. 906.

Bayang Allah ascends the throne of Ternate, and, being a prince of talents, busies himself in civilizing his people.

C. 1511. S. 1433. H. 917.

The Portuguese conquer Malacca, and drive the king Mahomed Shah from his kingdom, on which he establishes a principality at Jehor and Bintan. —They arrive at Bantam in the reign of Husen Udin, king of that country.

Ibrahim, a slave of Pidir in Sumatra, is appointed governor of Achin, a dependency of that kingdom, revolts, and renders himself independent.

Albuquerque sends from Malacca a squadron under Antonio de Abreu for the discovery of the Moluccas. De Abreu touches at Amboyna only, from whence he returns with a cargo of cloves. —Francis Seran is separated from the squadron of De Abreu, and being shipwrecked on a desert

island, is carried with his crew by the friendly natives to Amboyna, the king of which island receives these insidious and dangerous guests with caresses and hospitality.

C. 1512. S. 1434. H. 918.

The Portuguese arrive in Celebes, in the reign of Tuni Jalu, ri Pasuki, king of Goa Macassar, and are permitted by that prince to settle in the country.—They find some of the inhabitants converted to the Mahomedan religion.

The Malays, under the celebrated Laksimana, invest Malacca; they are defeated; but the Malayan commander extricates himself with great skill. A famine takes place at Malacca, attended by an epidemic, and a truce is concluded between the Malays and Portuguese.

Patiquiter, the Javanese ally of king Mahomed, is totally defeated by the Portuguese, and with his Javanese retires to his native country.

C. 1513. S. 1435. H. 919.

Pati Unus, a chief of Japara in Java, sails against Malacca with a great fleet consisting of near three hundred sail, and is defeated near Malacca with the loss of eight thousand men and sixty of his large war gallies.—He escapes, himself, to Java with difficulty.

Sultan Ahmed Shah, commonly called Aladin, (his name as hereditary prince,) ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1514. S. 1436. H. 920.

Ninachetuan, a Pagan Malay of Malacca, burns himself publicly on a funeral pile, on account of the ingratitude of the Portuguese.

The Raja of Campar in Sumatra, exercising the functions of Bandahara, or first minister of Malacca, is unjustly put to death by the Portuguese, in consequence of which they are execrated, and the city is deserted.

C. 1516. S. 1438. H. 922.

Mahomed, ex-king of Malacca, and king of Bintan and Jehor, blockades Malacca.

C. 1517. S. 1439. H. 923.

Mahomed, ex-king of Malacca, attacks that place a second time—is beaten off, but returns to the blockade.

C. 1518. S. 1440. H. 924.

Mahomed, ex-king of Malacca, continues the blockade of that city, which is defended successfully by seventy Portuguese.

C. 1519. S. 1441. H. 925.

Mahomed, king of Bintan, continues his blockade of Malacca, but the garrison being reinforced by Garcia de Sa, they attack Mahomed's entrenched camp, which they take, and that prince retires again to Bintan.

The king of Achin, taking advantage of the distressed state of Malacca, attacks the Portuguese factories within his dominions, and makes prisoners or puts to death the Europeans.

C. 1521. S. 1443. H. 928.

George Albuquerque, governor of Malacca, attacks Passe in Sumatra, Jeinal the king of which is killed in the storm.—He restores to the throne the legitimate king who had fled to Hindustan, imploring the assistance of the Portuguese.

George de Britto, with a squadron of nine ships, touching at Achin on his way to the Moluccas, is induced from avarice, and at the instigation of a shipwrecked Portuguese named Borba, who had in his distress been kindly treated by the king, to attack a temple reputed to contain great riches, in which he is defeated and slain.

Antonio de Britto succeeds to the command of the squadron destined for the Moluccas, and, proceeding to Malacca, unites with George Albuquerque in an attempt against Bintan, with eighteen vessels and six hundred soldiers. They attack that place, and are disgracefully defeated by the celebrated Laksimana, who pursues Albuquerque, after his coadjutor had proceeded in his voyage to the Moluccas, and takes one ship of his squadron.

The Spaniards, conducted by Magellan, arrive in the Moluccas by the Straits bearing his name. That great navigator is killed in an affray with the people of the little isle of Maktan, one of the Philippines.

Antonio de Britto, as governor of the Moluccas, touches at Java on his way to these islands. He

reaches Banda; where he finds Don Garcio Henriques, sent thither by George Albuquerque, who gives him the surprising information of the arrival of two Spanish ships in the Moluccas by an eastern passage.

De Britto seizes the twelve Spaniards, left at Tidor by the companions of Magellan, and one of the two ships of that great commander's squadron, being forced back into the Moluccas in distress, he sends her crew as prisoners to Portugal.

The queen regent of Ternate, and Almanzor, king of Tidor, dispute the honour of having a Portuguese fort and garrison in their dominions, and the latter is mortified at the preference given to the former.

De Britto intrigues at Ternate; deprives the queen of the regency; and stirs up a civil war there and at Tidor.

He offers a reward of a piece of fine cloth for the head of every Tidorean which is brought to him, and has speedily to distribute six hundred pieces for such services.

The king of Tidor declares open war against the Portuguese, and gains several advantages, but has his capital finally captured and destroyed.

C. 1522. S. 1445. H. 929.

Ibrahim, king of Achin, takes Pidir by stratagem, and subjects it to his power.

C. 1523. S. 1445. H. 930.

The king of Achin makes himself master of the

countries of Passe, Aru, and Pidir, and besieges the fortress of Passe, the Portuguese garrison of which, after a gallant defence, are suddenly panic-struck, and take flight, which puts an end for ever to the Portuguese dominion in Sumatra.

The Portuguese are defeated in the river Muara near Malacca by the Malays.

The king of Pahang, hitherto in friendship with the Portuguese, joins Mahomed, king of Bintan, and massacres the Portuguese wherever he finds them.

The inhabitants of Java seize upon the Portuguese in that island, and massacre them.

Malacca, surrounded by enemies, is cut off from supplies, and suffers from famine. The celebrated Laksimana, taking advantage of the circumstance, and the absence of the Portuguese shipping in quest of provisions, comes into the roads, and burns a Portuguese ship in presence of the garrison.

The Laksimana captures two ships sent against him by the governor of Malacca.

The king of Bintan invests Malacca with a fleet and army, the former commanded by the Laksimana, and consisting of twenty thousand men, and the latter by a renegade Portuguese, and consisting of sixty thousand.

Alphonso de Sosa arrives at Malacca, and relieves the city;—he blockades the Laksimana in the river Muaru;—he sails for Pahang, where he de-

stroys all the merchant vessels lying there, among others numerous trading vessels of Java ;—he kills six thousand persons at that place, and takes prisoners in such numbers as to afford to every Portuguese *six slaves*. He sails, finally, to Patani, and commits depredations still more extensive, reducing the whole town to ashes.

C. 1526. S. 1448. H. 933.

Mascarenas, governor-general of India, sails from Malacca, against Bintan, with a fleet of twenty-one ships, and an army of four hundred Portuguese, and six hundred Malays. The Laksimana attacks and boards one of his gallies, and is on the point of carrying her, when she is saved by the assistance of the governor-general. The Portuguese storm the entrenchments and town of Bintan ; and, though the Laksimana, who commanded in person, makes a gallant defence, they are taken, the town given up to pillage, and finally razed. King Mahomed retires to the main-land, where he establishes himself.

The Spaniards form their first establishment in the Moluccas, on the report of the companions of Magellan.

C. 1527. S. 1449. H. 934.

Don Garcio Henriques succeeds De Britto in the government of the Moluccas, and makes peace with the king of Tidor.

Don Garcio Henriques, the Portuguese gover-

nor of the Moluccas, poisons Almanzor, king of Tidor, through his physician, whose attendance the latter when sick had requested.

The Portuguese governor, under pretext of non-fulfilment of the treaty on the part of the people of Tidor, invades the island unexpectedly, and pillages and burns the town. The islanders, awakened by these enormities, resolve to do all in their power to shut their ports against the Portuguese, and if possible to exterminate them

The emperor Charles the Fifth, convinced of the goodness of his claim to the Moluccas, fits out a squadron of six ships for these islands, two of which, with three hundred men only, arrive. The Tidoreans receive them with cordiality, but the weakness, both of the Spaniards and Portuguese, prevent the Europeans from coming to open hostilities.

Don George Menezes arrives as governor of the Moluccas, and his contests with the late governor give occasion to a civil war between the Portuguese of the Spice Islands.

The Spaniards, reinforced from Europe, attack the Portuguese, and gain some advantage over them; but the latter, being in time also reinforced, drive them from the island of Tidor, and compel them to a treaty, agreeing to quit the Moluccas.

The young king of Ternate is accused by his uncle of sorcery and secret arts, and is compelled

to fly to the citadel, where, receiving no assistance from the Portuguese governor, he throws himself from a window, and kills himself to avoid a more ignominious death.

Menezes, on the bare supposition of his having killed a *Chinese hog* belonging to himself, causes the uncle of the king of Ternate, and head of the Mahomedan religion, to be seized and imprisoned, and, before discharging him, directs his face to be smeared over with the lard of the animal. The insulted prince, in consequence, flies from island to island, stirring up the people to resist their European oppressors.

The people of Ternate refuse to bring provisions to the Portuguese fort.

Menezes seizes three chiefs of Ternate for resistance to the Portuguese, and directs the right hands of two of them to be cut off. The third, having his hands tied behind his back, is left on the beach to be devoured by two mastiffs set upon him for the purpose.

Menezes publicly executes the regent of Ternate for a pretended conspiracy, on which the native inhabitants quit the country almost without exception.

C. 1528. S. 1450. H. 935.

Simon de Sosa, proceeding as governor to the Moluccas, stops at Achin, where he is attacked by

the king, his vessel taken, and himself killed, after a gallant resistance.

A king of the Sundas in Java, (possibly Prabu Seda, the Hindu king of Păjajaran, conquered by the king of Bantam,) calls in the assistance of the Portuguese, who arrive under Francis de Sa; but, finding their ally subdued, they retire, after losing one of their ships, the crew of which were put to death by the natives.

C. 1529. S. 1451. H. 935.

The governor of Malacca discovers a conspiracy of the king of Achin to destroy the Portuguese, and take the city, and he executes the principal conspirators.

Aladin Shah ascends the throne of Achin.

The Spaniards renounce their claims to the Moluccas for a pecuniary consideration of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats.

C. 1530. S. 1452. H. 936.

The king of Achin deceives the Portuguese, who, sending a mission to him from Malacca, the ship which conveys it is treacherously attacked and taken, and the envoy, with all his people, put to death in cold blood.

The king of Achin, encouraged by his success against the Portuguese, meditates the conquest of Malacca, and intrigues with the Shahbăndăr, or *intendant of the port*, but the plot is discovered,

and the traitor put to death, by being thrown headlong from a window of the castle.

Gonsalvo Pereira sails, as governor, for the Moluccas, and touches at the port of Borneo in the island of that name, where he makes commercial arrangements with the king.

Gonsalvo Pereira arrives in the Moluccas, and attempts to remedy the disorders brought about by the misgovernment of his predecessors. In consequence of his measures, the Ternatians return to their country, and a good understanding is established with the king of Tidor.

The Portuguese, dissatisfied with the conduct of Pereira, stir up a revolt of the Ternatians against him, and he is killed in an insurrection which takes place.—The conspirators seize the government, and dethrone the king of Ternate, who flies to the mountains to escape their persecution.—They raise to the throne in his room a son of the late king by a concubine.

Fonseca, the usurping governor of Ternate, carries fire and sword into the island of Tidor, and pursues the king of that place and the king of Ternate, forcing these unfortunate princes to take refuge in the forests.

Tristan d'Ataida takes charge of the government of the Moluccas, a worse man than any of his bad predecessors.—He dethrones the king of

Ternate, and raises in his room the infant son of a Javanese concubine by the late king.—The mother refusing her consent to the elevation of her son to this dangerous distinction, her reluctance is construed into a crime, and she is seized and thrown over the windows of the castle.

C. 1531. S. 1453. H. 937.

The kings of Gilolo, the Papuas, and the princes of the Moluccas, join in a league to exterminate the Portuguese, and succeed in massacring a great number.

The Portuguese fortress in Ternate is blockaded by the Ternatians and their allies, and the garrison reduced by famine to the last extremity.

The Portuguese receive several partial reinforcements, but are confined for years almost to their fortifications, until they receive succours by the new governor, the heroic and virtuous Antonio Galvan.

C. 1536. S. 1458. H. 942.

Antonio Galvan arrives in the Moluccas, and reduces affairs to some order.

C. 1537. S. 1459. H. 943.

Antonio Galvan proceeds to Tidor, and with four hundred men, one hundred and seventy of whom only are Portuguese, attacks the allied princes of the Moluccas, whose army amounted, by the Portuguese computation, to thirty thousand, and

defeats them, killing the king of Ternate, and losing but *one Portuguese slave.*

The late governor of the Moluccas attempts to form a party against Galvan; a revolt takes place, and the conspirators quit Ternate for India, leaving their countrymen much weakened by their desertion.

Antonio Galvan proposes to the kings of Gilolo and Bachian, to save the effusion of blood, by a single combat with each of them, which they accept, but the meeting is prevented by the intercession of the king of Tidor, and peace is concluded.

Tabarija, king of Ternate, sent by Ataida to India, is there converted to Christianity, and sent back to be reinstated in his kingdom, but dies at Malacca on his way to the Moluccas.

Ferdinand Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, sends two Spanish ships to the Moluccas, which arrive in great distress, and are finally shipwrecked. —The crews being made prisoners, are treated by Galvan with generosity and humanity.

The merchants of Java, Banda, Celebes, and Amboyna, deprived of the spice trade, resolve to open a commerce by force of arms, and assemble an army for that purpose at Amboyna, which is defeated by a Portuguese expedition sent against it from Ternate.

Galvan employs himself zealously in the task of converting the islanders to Christianity; he insti-

tutes a seminary for religious education, afterwards approved of by the Council of Trent; and Christianity not only makes rapid progress in the Moluccas, but is spread to Celebes and Mindanao.

Galvan, after making himself beloved to such a degree, by his great qualities, as to cause the inhabitants of the Moluccas to propose making him their king, is superseded in his government.

The king of Achin besieges Malacca, and is driven from the place by a sortie of the besiegers.

Paul de Gama is sent by the governor of Malacca to reduce Jehor, the new residence of Aladin, but is attacked by the celebrated Laksimana, and defeated, losing his own life, and having the greater part of his force destroyed.

Don Estevan de Gama, governor of Malacca, attacks the town of Jehor, reduces and sacks it.

The king of Achin again attacks the city of Malacca.

C. 1540. S. 1462. H. 947.

Sultan Ala ed-din Shah the Second ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1544. S. 1466. H. 951.

George de Castro renews the scenes of iniquity transacted by the Portuguese in the Moluccas, and sends another king of Ternate prisoner to Goa.

C. 1547. S. 1469. H. 954.

The celebrated Saint Francis Zavier, one of the

companions of Ignatius de Loyola, makes his appearance at Malacca, and the Portuguese ascribe to his presence the salvation of the place from a formidable attack of the king of Achin.

Oct. 18.—The king of Achin sends an army of one hundred thousand men against Malacca, with a fleet of seventy large gallies, and having in his army five hundred Turkish janissaries.

Dec. 24.—The Portuguese fleet go in search of that of the king of Achin, and, attacking them in the river of Părlas in Sumatra, gain a complete victory, the Achinese losing four thousand men.

C. 1549. S. 1471. H. 956.

Saint Francis Zavier propagates Christianity in the Moluccas.

C. 1550-51. S. 1472-73. H. 957-58.

Aladin, king of Jehor, with the assistance of the neighbouring Malay princes, and the queen of Japara in Java, sends a powerful fleet and army against Malacca, which is greatly reduced by famine, but at last relieved by the retreat of the confederates. The heroic and veteran Laksimana, with his son-in-law, are killed in this expedition.

C. 1556. S. 1478. H. 963.

Husen Shah ascends the throne of Achin.

C. 1557. S. 1479. H. 964.

Edward Deça, the Portuguese governor of the Moluccas, puts Aeiro, king of Ternate, in irons,

and imprisons him ; in consequence of which there is a general insurrection throughout the island.

C. 1559. S. 1481. H. 966.

Aeiro, king of Ternate, is released and restored ; in consequence of which tranquillity is re-established throughout the Moluccas.

Sultan Abd-ul-Julil the First ascends the throne of Je[illegible]

C. 1565. S. 1487. H. 973.

Raja Firman Shah ascends the throne of Achin, and is soon afterwards murdered.

Raja Jawil ascends the throne of Achin, and is murdered soon after.

Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, in the reign of Philip the Second of Spain, takes nominal possession of the Philippines.

Zebu, one of the Philippines, is conquered by the Spaniards.

C. 1567. S. 1489. H. 975.

Mansur Shah, a native of the Malay state of Perah in the Peninsula, ascends the throne of Achin.

The king of Achin joins in the league of the western powers of India against the Portuguese, and sends a fleet and army against Malacca.

C. 1568. S. 1490. H. 976.

The king of Achin in person goes against Malacca

with a great force, and is compelled to raise the siege, after losing four thousand men, and his eldest son.

C. 1569. S. 1491. H. 977.

A single Portuguese man-of-war defeats the Achinese fleet, commanded by the king in person.

C. 1570. S. 1492. H. 978.

Aciro, king of Ternate, is treacherously assassinated by Lopez de Mesquita, governor of the Moluccas, at his own house, under pretext of a friendly conference, and his body being refused to his friends, who demand it for burial, is cut in pieces and thrown into the sea.

The Ternatians under Baber, the late king's son, retire to the mountains, and for the rest of the period of the residence of the Portuguese in the Moluccas, continue to harass them by a predatory warfare.

C. 1571. S. 1493. H. 979.

The king of Achin sends a fleet to attack that under the Portuguese admiral Louis de Melo, and is defeated near Malacca with great loss.

Manila is conquered by the Spaniards, and a town built.

C. 1572. S. 1494. H. 980.

The king of Achin, in consequence of a league entered into with the princes of western India, again attacks Malacca with a numerous army, but

his fleet is defeated by Tristan de la Vega, and he is in consequence compelled to raise the siege.

C. 1573. S. 1495. H. 981.

The king of Achin having formed an alliance with the queen of Japara in Java, again attacks Malacca.

C. 1574. S. 1496. H. 982.

Manila is attacked by the Chinese rover Limahon, and nearly taken.

The queen of Japara, with an army of fifteen thousand men, and a fleet of forty-five great junks, attacks Malacca, and, after a siege of three months, is compelled to retire.

C. 157 . S. 1497. H. 983.

The king of Achin again besieges Malacca with a greater force than at any former period, and when on the eve of taking the town, which is defended by no more than one hundred and fifty men, is suddenly panic-struck, and retires with precipitation.

Don Francisco la Sande, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1578. S. 1500. H. 986.

Nov. 14th.—The English, under Sir Francis Drake, make their first appearance in the Archipelago, touching at the islands of Ternate and Java.

C. 1580. S. 1502. H. 988.

Don Gonzalo Ronquillo, governor of the Philippines.

Bab Ullah, king of Ternate, visits Macassar, and recommends the Mahomedan religion to the inhabitants.

The island of Butung is subdued by Bab Ullah, king of Ternate.

C. 1581. S. 1503. H. 989.

Baber, king of Ternate, captures the Portuguese fortress, and puts an end to the Portuguese dominion in that island.

The kingdom of Portugal being united to that of Spain, on the death of Don Sebastian and Don Henry, its Indian dominions fall under the power of the latter.

C. 1582. S. 1504. H. 990.

The king of Achin makes one more unsuccessful attack upon Malacca.

The Spaniards, from the Philippines, make an unsuccessful attack on the Moluccas.

C. 1584. S. 1506. H. 992.

Don Santiago de Vera, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1585. S. 1507. H. 993.

The Spaniards, from the Philippines, send another unsuccessful expedition against the Moluccas.

Mansur Shah, king of Achin, his queen, and many of the principal nobility, are murdered by the commander-in-chief of the army. The grand-

son of Mansur Shah, usually denominated Sultan Bujang, (the Lad,) nominally succeeds to the throne.

C. 1586. S. 1508. H. 994.

The Senopati, first prince of the house of Mataram, destroys Pajang.

There is a great eruption from the volcanic range of mountains towards the eastern end of the island of Java, by which many lives are lost.

C. 1588. S. 1510. H. 996.

Tuni Jalluh, king of Macassar, is assassinated, and succeeded by his son, Tuni Paselu.

Thomas Cavendish, in his circumnavigation of the globe, touches at Blambangan, a kingdom in Java, lying on the straits which divide that island from Bali.

The usurper, who had murdered Mansur Shah, king of Achin, also puts his grandson to death, and takes formal possession of the throne.

C. 1589. S. 1511. H. 997.

Various attempts are made by the Spaniards to conquer Mindanao, which are wholly unsuccessful. The people of that island, in their turn, send an expedition, and ravage the Philippines.

C. 1590. S. 1512. H. 998.

Lapatawa, king of Boni, dies, and is succeeded by his son.

Gomez Perez Dasmarinas, governor of the Philippines.

The emperor of Japan sends a letter and mission to the Philippines.

The king of Camboja sends a mission to the governor of the Philippines, begging his assistance against the king of Siam.

C. 1591. S. 1513. H. 999.

Tuni Paselu, king of Goa Macassar, is dethroned, and succeeded by his brother, Tumamenga ri Gaokana, called also Allah u Din.

Sultan Abd ulah Shah ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1593. S. 1515. H. 1001.

The governor of the Philippines, Dasmarinas, having sailed on an expedition against the Moluccas, his fleet is dispersed, and he is murdered by the mutiny of the Chinese portion of his crew, who had been cruelly used by the Spaniards.

The licentiate Rosas, provisional governor of the Philippines.

C. 1596. S. 1518. H. 1004.

The Dutch, under Hautman, arrive in Java, in the reign of the Panambahan Senopati of Mataram, and Abdul Mufaker, king of Bantam. The prince of Madura and his family are massacred by the Dutch in attempting to pay a visit of ceremony on board of Hautman's fleet.

Don Francisco Tello de Gusman, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1600. S. 1522. H. 1009.

The Dutch visit Achin, and are perfidiously treated by the king.

C. 1601. S. 1523. H. 1010.

The king of Achin sends two ambassadors to Holland, one of whom dies there, but the other returns in safety.

The Panămbahan Senopati, prince of Mataram in Java, dies, and is succeeded by his son, Panămbahan Sedo Krapyak.

The use of tobacco is introduced into Java.

December 29th.—The Dutch, under Hermanszen, defeat the Spanish fleet under Andrew Furtado de Mendoza, off Bantam.

C. 1602. S. 1524. H. 1011.

The English make their first appearance in the Archipelago, and reach Achin, under Sir James Lancaster, with a letter and presents from Queen Elizabeth.

Don Pedro Brabo de Acuna, governor of the Philippines.

The emperor of Japan sends ambassadors to the governor of the Philippines, requesting a continuation of the commercial intercourse between Japan and those islands, and some Spanish shipwrights.

C. 1603. S. 1525. H. 1012.

The English under Lancaster establish a commerce with Bantam.

The emperor of China sends an embassy to Ma-

nila, for the object, real or pretended, of ascertaining the truth respecting a report which had reached him, that the port of Cavito was formed of *gold*.

The Chinese of the Philippines revolt against the Spaniards, and, after a long resistance, are exterminated, to the number of twenty-three thousand.

The emperor of China sends a mission to the Philippines, to inquire into the murder of his countrymen. He is satisfied with the explanation afforded by the governor, and the commercial intercourse goes on on the old footing.

C. 1604. S. 1526. H. 1013.

Ali Maghayat Shah ascends the throne of Achin, after imprisoning his father.

C. 1605. S. 1527. H. 1014.

The Panămbahan Krapyak, prince of Mataram in Java, suppresses the rebellion of his brother, the Pangeran of Pugar, by defeating him, and taking him prisoner.

Datu ri Bandang, a native of the Malayan kingdom of Menăngkabao, converts the kings of Goa and Tallo in Celebes, by whose influence the Mahomedan religion is accepted by all the *Macassar* states.

C. 1606. S. 1528. H. 1015.

The Macassars force the people of Boni, and the Waju nations, to adopt the Mahomedan religion.

Martin Alfonzo, a Portuguese commander, attacks Achin, and is beaten off.

The Spanish governor of the Philippines sends an expedition against the Moluccas, and captures Ternate and Tidor, carrying off the king of the former place, and many of his nobles, to Manila.

The Japanese residing in the Philippines revolt against the Spaniards, and their insurrection is suppressed.

Don Christoval Telles de Almanza, provisional governor of the Philippines.

Another insurrection of the Japanese takes place in the Philippines.

C. 1608. S. 1530. H. 1017.

The prince of Mataram in Java suppresses the rebellion of the Pangeran Jogorogo.

Don Rodrigo Vivero, provisional governor of the Philippines.

C. 1609. S. 1531. H. 1018.

Don Juan de Silva, governor of the Philippines.

The Spaniards defeat a Dutch squadron of six ships, off the Philippines.

C. 1610. S. 1532. H. 1019.

Iskandar Muda ascends the throne of Achin.

Sultan Abd Ulah Shah ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1611. S. 1533. H. 1020.

Peter Both, the first Dutch governor-general, arrives at Bantam.

He enters into a treaty with Widyak Rama, king

of Jacatra, by which the Dutch are allowed to build a fort, and establish a factory at that place.

C. 1613. S. 1535. H. 1022.

The prince of Mataram dies, and is succeeded by his son, known by the name of Sultan Agung, or the *Great Sultan*. The young sultan sends an army under his general, Surantani, and attempts the conquest of the eastern districts of Java, but fails.

King James the First of England sends a letter and presents to the king of Achin, by Captain Best.

The Dutch enter into treaties with the king of Ternate and other petty princes of the Moluccas, by which they endeavour to insure to themselves the exclusive trade in cloves.

The Dutch capture the Portuguese settlements in Solor and Tidor.

The Spaniards fit out an expedition against the Moluccas, which is repelled by the Dutch with a heavy loss to the former.

The Dutch, with a squadron of ten ships, infest the coast of the Philippines, and burn and destroy some towns and villages.

The king of Achin writes a friendly letter to the king of England, and requests to have one of his *countrywomen to wife*, promising to make her son king of the pepper countries.

The king of Achin conquers Siak, and plunders

the Jehor, carrying off a great many of the inhabitants as slaves.

C. 1614. S. 1536. H. 1023.

The sultan of Mataram in person conquers the eastern provinces of Java as far as Wirorosobo inclusive.

C. 1615. S. 1537. H. 1024.

Gerard Reynst, governor-general of the Dutch Indies. Reynst compels the English to quit Amboyna.

An eruption of a volcano takes place at Banda.

May 14th.—The Dutch commence hostilities with the Bandanese, and capture Pulo-ay, but are driven out of it again by the inhabitants.

The king of Achin, with a numerous fleet, and an army of sixty thousand men, sails against Malacca, and is defeated by the Portuguese before effecting a landing.

The English visit Macassar, and conclude a commercial treaty with the king.

The confederated chiefs of the eastern provinces of Java invade the territories of the sultan of Mataram, but are reduced by famine and sickness, and ultimately defeated by the prince in person. Elephants are described as having been used on this occasion.

C. 1616. S. 1538. H. 1025.

The sultan of Mataram conquers the district of Lassem.

Don Juan de Silva, governor of the Philippines, sails with a powerful expedition against the Dutch settlements and commerce, but dying at Malacca, the fleet returns to Manila without effecting any thing.

Don Andres Alcaras, governor of the Philippines.

Speelberg, the Dutch admiral, arriving by the Straits of Magellan, blockades the harbour of Manila.

Laurent Reaal, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The Dutch capture Pulo-ay, one of the Spice Islands.

C. 1617. S. 1539. H. 1026.

April 14.—An action is fought between a Dutch and Spanish squadron, with partial loss on both sides.

Martoloyo, the commander of the Mataram forces, conquers the district of Pasuruhan, and carries off all the women who fall into his hands. The chief of Pajang revolts, and is defeated.

C. 1618. S. 1540. H. 1027.

The sultan of Mataram in Java conquers the district of Tuban, and makes slaves of the female prisoners. The Dutch plunder and burn the town of Japara.

July 2.—Don Alonzo Faxardo, governor of the Philippines.

Jan Pietersz Coen, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The kings of Bantam and Jacatra, with the English, enter into a plot to expel the Dutch from Java, and hostilities commence.

C. 1619. S. 1541. H. 1028.

The Dutch enter into a capitulation to surrender their garrison at Jacatra, but are saved by the secession of the king of Bantam from the league against them.

The name of Batavia is bestowed on the Dutch fort at Jacatra.

May 28.—Coen returns from Amboyna with a large force, and attacks and destroys the town of Jacatra.

The Dutch commence hostilities with the Bantamese, which last ten years.

Tomamenanga ri Gaokapa, king of Goa Macassar, lays the states of Bipua, Tambora, Donpo, and Sangar, in the island of Sambawa, under contribution.

The king of Achin conquers Queda and Perah, in the Malayan Peninsula, and Dili in Sumatra.

C. 1620. S. 1542. H. 1029.

The Dutch and English East India Companies having entered into treaty, the former propose the reduction of the Banda Isles as a joint enterprise, which the latter decline, declaring their want of

means to be the sole reason. The Dutch by themselves achieve the conquest of these Isles.

C. 1621. S. 1543. H. 1030.

Sultan Mahomed Shah the Third ascends the throne of Jehor.

The French, under General Beaulieu, make their first appearance in the Archipelago, carrying a letter and presents from the king of France to the king of Achin.

C. 1623. S. 1545. H. 1032.

The sultan of Mataram conquers the island of Madura.—He conquers the province of Surabaya.

A great revolt of the native inhabitants of the Philippines takes place, which is at length quelled with difficulty.

Peter de Charpentier, governor-general of the Indies.

The Dutch pretending to have discovered a plot of the English and their Japanese soldiers to seize the fort of Amboyna, put the supposed conspirators to the torture, and execute them on their confession on the rack.

C. 1624. S. 1546. H. 1033.

The Dutch commence hostilities against the inhabitants of the Moluccas, for *selling their cloves to other strangers.*

Sultan Abd 'ul Jalil the Second ascends the throne of Jehor.

Don Geronimo de Silva, provisional governor of the Philippines.

A Dutch squadron appearing off the coast of the Philippines, the Spanish governor goes out with a fleet to meet it, and is shamefully defeated.

Tomamenanga rj Gaokana, king of Goa Macassar, sails with a fleet, and subdues Butung, Bongai, the Xulla Isles, Baru, and Kute, and makes a treaty with Bali. He strikes a gold coin, the first ever coined in Celebes.

C. 1625. S. 1547. H. 1034.

Mataram, in Java, is afflicted by a fatal epidemic disease.

Don Fernando de Silva, provisional governor of the Philippines.

The Spaniards make a settlement on the east side of Formosa, and are successful in converting the native inhabitants to Christianity.

C, 1626. S. 1548. H. 1035.

Don Juan Nino de Tabora, governor of the Philippines.

An expedition sails from the Philippines against the Dutch establishment in Formosa, but returns without reaching the place, or effecting any thing. The Spaniards of the Philippines fit out an expedition against the Dutch commerce, which sails to Siam, where the Dutch being protected by the king of that country, the Spanish commander burns their junks, and takes prisoners the

Siamese mission, proceeding on its annual voyage to China.

Tanrepala, king of Boni, dies, and is succeeded by his sister's son, Lamadarama.

C. 1627. S. 1549. H. 1037.

Jan Pietersz Coen, governor-general of the Dutch Indies for the second time.

The Javanese enter into a conspiracy to assassinate the governor-general Coen, which is defeated.

C. 1628. S. 1550. H. 1038.

The governor of the Philippines sends an expedition against the Sooloo Islands, to punish the inhabitants for their depredations on the coast of Luconia.

The king of Achin, for the last time, sends a fleet and army against Malacca, which are totally destroyed, and the Laksimana, or admiral, made prisoner.

The sultan of Mataram suppresses the great rebellion of Pragolo, chief of Pati, his brother-in-law.—He attacks Giri, and takes it, making the Susunan prisoner, and carrying him off to Mataram.

August 28.—The sultan of Mataram sends a force against Batavia, and attempts to take it by surprise.

Sept. 12.—The Dutch garrison makes a vigorous sortie.

Sept. 21.—The Javanese make another attempt to carry the fort by assault.

Oct. 21.—The Dutch, assisted by the Japanese and Chinese inhabitants, attack and destroy the Javanese camp.

Oct. 25.—The Dutch again attack the Javanese, and put them to the rout, but the latter rallying, the Dutch on their side are compelled to retreat with loss.

Nov. 27.—The Javanese, being strongly reinforced, make another unsuccessful assault on the fort of Batavia.

The Javanese raise the first siege of Batavia.

C. 1629. S. 1551. H. 1039.

The Spanish governor sails at the head of an expedition against the Sooloo Islands, and, attacking a fortified port of the islanders, is disgracefully defeated, and returns to Manila.

The governor of the province of Nagaski in Japan sends a mission to the governor of the Philippines.

The king of Siam sends an embassy to Manila, claiming redress for the ravages committed by the Spaniards in the port of Siam, and the seizure of the ambassador of that country proceeding to China.

The king of Kamboja sends a mission to the Philippines, claiming the assistance of the Spaniards

against the king of Siam, and requesting shipwrights, who are sent to him.

August 22.—The king of Mataram sends a fresh army to attack Batavia.

Sept. 21.—The Javanese assault the fortress of Batavia, and are driven back with loss.

Sept. 25.—The Dutch governor-general dying, James Specx is nominated in his room.

Sept. 29.—The Javanese renew the assault on the fort, and are again defeated.

Oct. 20.—The Javanese make a third and last attack on the fortress of Batavia.

The Javanese raise the siege of Batavia, and retreat, having, it is alleged, lost by famine, death, or desertion, one half of an army, amounting to from one hundred to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

C. 1632. S. 1554. H. 1042.

July 22.—Don Lorenzo Olaso, provisional governor of the Philippines.

Henry Brouwer, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1633. J. 1555. H. 1043.

The Dutch governor-general sends a fruitless embassy to the king of Bali, to claim his assistance against the sultan of Mataram.

The sultan of Mataram directs measures to be taken for changing the kalendar; and the lunar months are adopted instead of the solar.

C. 1634. J. 1556. H. 1044.

Amboyna and the rest of the Moluccas continue in a state of revolt.

C. 1635. J. 1557. H. 1045.

June 25.—Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, governor of the Philippines.

The king of Achin imprisons the Portuguese ambassador, and murders all the Portuguese about his court.

C. 1636. J. 1558. H. 1046.

Antony Van Diemen, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1637. J. 1559. H. 1047.

The revolt at Amboyna still continuing, the governor-general proceeds thither in person.

A great mortality prevails all over the island of Celebes.

Don Sebastian Hurtado, governor of the Philippines, sails against Sooloo and Mindanao, and after an obstinate struggle, reduces them, but is soon obliged to recal his garrisons and abandon his conquests.

C. 1638. J. 1560. H. 1048.

Tomamenanga ri Gaokana dies, and is succeeded by his son, Tomamenanga ri Papang Batuna.

The governor-general of the Dutch Indies repairs to Amboyna a second time, and concludes a new treaty with the king of Ternate, but the insurrection still continues.

C. 1639. J. 1561. H. 1049.

The Dutch arrive in Celebes, and make a commercial treaty with the king of Goa Macassar.

The Chinese in the Philippines, now amounting to thirty thousand men, revolt against the Spanish authority; being attacked by a military force they are driven from post to post, and at length yield, after their numbers had been reduced to seven thousand.

The sultan of Mataram achieves the conquest of Blambangan. He quells a rebellion of the district of Sumădang, and orders the male inhabitants to be exterminated.

C. 1640. J. 1562. H. 1050.

The king of Achin sends twenty-five galleys to assist the Dutch in their conquest of Malacca.

Lamadarama, king of Boni, institutes a religious persecution, and attempts to propagate Mahomedanism by the sword. His subjects apply to the king of Goa Macassar, who invades the country, and defeats him.

The Portuguese settlements in India are separated from those of Spain, by the rise of the duke of Braganza to the independent throne of Portugal.

C. 1641. J. 1563. H. 1051.

The queen, Taju ul Alum, ascends the throne of Achin.

A great number of people are destroyed by the fall of a portion of the mountain Adiksa, in Java.

C. 1642. J. 1564. H. 1052.

Malacca is taken by the Dutch after a siege and blockade of five months.

The viceroy of Goa sends a mission to the Dutch governor-general at Batavia, informing him of the succession of the duke of Braganza to the throne of Portugal.

The Dutch, having taken possession of the island of Formosa, their vicinity occasions great consternation at Manila.

C. 1643. J. 1565. H. 1053.

The Macassars of Goa invade Boni, make the king and other princes prisoners, and subdue the whole country, reducing the people to a state of bondage or slavery. The supremacy of Macassar over all Celebes is thus established.

The truce of ten years for India is concluded between the Dutch and Portuguese.

Tasman discovers New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land.

Van Diemen begins the compilation of the colonial code of laws, called *the Statutes of Batavia.*

The Adipati, or prince of Palembang, does homage in person at Mataram. The chief of the Javanese colony at Banjarmassir in Borneo sends a mission to the same place.

C. 1644. J. 1566. H. 1054.

Mataram is visited by a second great epidemic.

August 11.—Don Diego Farado, governor of the Philippines.

The Dutch make an attempt on Sooloo and Mindanao, but are defeated.

C. 1645. J. 1567. H. 1055.

The Dutch, with a squadron of eleven ships, make various attempts upon Manila and other parts of the Philippines, but finally retreat without effecting any thing.

Salicala, son of the king of Sooloo, and the Malays of Borneo, commit great depredations on the coasts of the Spanish possessions in the Philippines.

The Spaniards of the Philippines send a retaliatory expedition against the Malays of Borneo, which destroys many of their villages, and carries off two hundred prisoners as slaves.

A most formidable insurrection of the natives takes place throughout the Philippines, which is quelled with difficulty.

A succession of earthquakes takes place during sixty days in the Philippine Islands, when the town of Manila is entirely destroyed, and many lives lost.

Cornelius Van der Lyn, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

April 26.—The Dutch send a mission to the sultan of Mataram, and conclude a treaty of peace with him.

The sultan of Mataram in Java sends a mission to the king of Macassar in Celebes.

C. 1646. J. 1568. H. 1056.

The sultan of Mataram dies, and is succeeded by his son, Tăgalărum.

C. 1647. J. 1569. H. 1057.

The sultan of Mataram suppresses a revolt of the people of Blambangan, aided by the people of Bali.

C. 1648. J. 1570. H. 1058.

The Moluccas continue in a state of insurrection, and the inhabitants carry on a continual warfare with the Dutch.

C. 1649. J. 1571. H. 1059.

The sultan of Mataram issues an order to his subjects, *enjoining all the men to marry each two wives.*

C. 1650. J. 1572. H. 1060.

Charles Reinerzoon, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1651. J. 1573. H. 1061.

The sultan of Mataram constructs a palace at Plered, and removes his court thither. The Adipati of Jambi, and the chiefs of Cheribon in Sumatra, do homage at Mataram.

C. 1652. J. 1574. H. 1062.

Jan. 31.—The king of Ternate is carried off to

Batavia by the Dutch, and compelled to sign a treaty, agreeing to *destroy all the cloves* in his dominions.

Aug. 28.—Vlaming, the governor of Amboyna, executes more than twenty of the nobles of the Moluccas by breaking some on the wheel, and strangling or drowning others.

The king of Bantam declares war against the Dutch, and proceeds against Batavia, with sixty thousand men, but does no more than lay waste the surrounding country and retire.

C. 1653. J. 1575. H. 1063.

Feb. 6.—The Dutch execute a great many nobles and princes of the Moluccas taken prisoners by them.

The king of Macassar joins the people of the Moluccas in their league against the Dutch.

March 6.—The Dutch and people of Macassar fight a naval action at Ternate.

May 18.—Jan Maatzuiker, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

May 21.—The Dutch order another execution of the Moluccan chiefs.

An extraordinary fall of rain takes place in Java, when many parts of the country not usually flooded are inundated.—In the month of Săfăr of the same year, a comet is seen.

A mission appears from Sukadana in Borneo to do homage to the sultan of Mataram.

Tomamenanga ri Papang Batuna dies, and is succeeded by his son, Hasan u' Din, called also Tomamenanga Bala Pangkana.

Don Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, governor of the Philippines.

Corrolat, king of Mindanao, puts to death two Jesuits, and some other Spaniards sent to him as ambassadors from Manila.

A formidable revolt of the natives takes place in the Philippines.

C. 1654. J. 1576. H. 1064.

Kraing Patingalong, first minister of Goa, denominated "the Father of the Country," dies, and is succeeded by the able and renowned Kronrong.

The war continues in the Moluccas.

C. 1655. J. 1577. H. 1065.

The Dutch defeat the Macassars in the Moluccas, who make a gallant resistance.—Four hundred prisoners are made on this occasion, and assigned to the captors as slaves.

A mission from the king of Siam appears at Mataram.

The king of Goa Macassar conquers all Butung, overthrowing the Dutch establishment there.

C. 1656. J. 1578. H. 1066.

The Dutch conclude a peace with the king of Macassar.

The king of Gilolo is taken, and, with five and twenty of his people, privately drowned by the

Dutch, lest his public execution might excite a tumult among the people.

C. 1660. J. 1582. H. 1070.

The war still continues to ravage the Moluccas.

A *copper currency* is substituted for *tin coin* by order of the sultan of Mataram.—The Pangeran of Surabaya, and forty of his family, are wantonly put to death by order of the sultan.

The Dutch send a force against Macassar;—they destroy six Portuguese ships, and capture the fort of Panekoka. Peace is concluded between the Dutch and Macassars.

C. 1661. J. 1583. H. 1071.

The Macassars conquer the kingdom of Sopeng in Celebes.

C. 1662. J. 1584. H. 1072.

Kwe Sing Kong or Coxinga, having conquered Formosa from the Dutch, sends a mission to Manila, requiring the payment of tribute, and his acknowledgment as sovereign of the Philippines.

The governor of the Philippines, in consequence of the hostility of Coxinga, directs all the Chinese to quit the Philippines.

Coxinga dies, and his unwarlike son succeeding, the Philippines are relieved from the danger of a Chinese invasion.

C. 1663. J. 1585. H. 1074.

The Spaniards finally quit the Moluccas.

—Don Diego Salcedo, governor of the Philippines,

C. 1664. J. 1586. H. 1072.

The Dutch reduce under their sway the principal portion of the west coast of Sumatra.

A volcanic eruption of the mountain Mărapi in Java takes place.

The Dutch, under Admiral Vander Laen, send a fleet against Palembang in Sumatra, which they capture, and burn.

C. 1665. J. 1587. H. 1073.

The inhabitants of Pao in Sumatra massacre the Dutch officers and garrison of the island of Chingo.

The Macassars fit out a great expedition of seven hundred vessels, and twenty thousand men, for the conquest of Butung and the Xulla Isles, and eventually for that of the Moluccas. They conquer the people of Butung, who redeem themselves for seven hundred and eighty katis of gold, (about seven hundred ounces.)

C. 1666. J. 1588. H. 1074.

The Dutch send a great force, under Admiral Speelman, for the conquest of Macassar. They give the Macassars a complete overthrow at Butung, and, not knowing how to dispose of their prisoners, they leave five thousand on a desert island.

C. 1667. J. 1590. H. 1076.

The Dutch reconquer the whole west coast of Sumatra, from Sălebar to Barus.

The people of Boni in Celebes, with auxiliaries from Ternate and Butung, join the Dutch when

these allied parties dictate terms to the Macassars, and the treaty of Bonayo is concluded.

C. 1668. J. 1591. H. 1077.

The treaty between the Macassars and Dutch is broken, and the war renewed through the intrigues of the minister Krongrong.

C. 1669. J. 1592. H. 1078.

The Dutch and their allies take from the Macassars their last fort, Sambaopo, and the war ends. The king of Macassar resigns the government of his kingdom to his son Mapa Samba.—Lamadarama, the captive king of Boni, is restored.

The people of the kingdom of Dili in Sumatra throw oft their allegiance to the Achinese.

September 4.—Don Manuel de Leon, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1671. J. 1594. H. 1080.

Sultan Ibrahim Shah ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1672. J. 1595. H. 1081.

Lamadarama, king of Boni, resigns the crown, and Raja Palaka, who had fled to the Dutch, and by whose instrumentality chiefly the Macassars were subdued, is elected in his room. He is known to his countrymen by the names of Tuni Sombaya, or "The Great," and Matinroa ri Bontualah, or "he who died at Bontualah."

A numerous band of fugitives from Celebes arrives in Madura. Truna Jaya, a prince of that country, rebels and joins them.

C. 1673. J. 1596. H. 1082.

The fugitives from Celebes, who, in the preceding year, had landed on Madura, land in the eastern end of Java, ravaging and subjecting several districts. They defeat an army sent against them by the sultan, under Karsulo, chief of the province of Japan.

A letter from the Dutch council of the Indies directs the assassination or seizure of Krongrong, minister of Goa, and his party, but the order is not executed.

C. 1674. J. 1597. H. 1083.

Mapa Samba, king of Goa Macassar, dies, and is succeeded by his paternal uncle, Mapa Usung. Raja Palaka, king of Boni, and the Dutch, reduce the state of Mandar to subjection.

The war in the Moluccas ends this year.

Violent earthquakes take place at Amboyna in this year, in 1671 and 1673, in which two thousand three hundred and twenty-two persons are destroyed.

C. 1675. J. 1598. H. 1084.

Craing Montemarano, a fugitive from Celebes, invades Java.

Nur-ul-Alum, queen of Achin, ascends the throne.

C. 1676. J. 1599. H. 1085.

The sultan of Mataram claims the assistance of

the Dutch, who join him from Japara. The Dutch taking no share in the action which ensues at Pasuruhan, the Javanese receive a complete overthrow from the Macassar fugitives and Truna Jaya, and are dispersed. The Pangeran Adipati, or heir apparent, marches against Truna Jaya and the Macassars, and is beaten by them in a battle fought near Surabaya.

Truna Jaya assumes sovereign authority; and, sending a great force, conquers the districts east of Mataram, which he at last enters.

The sultan of Mataram flies, with his family, from his capital, and dies on his way to Tăgal. He is succeeded by his eldest son, who takes the title of Susunan Mangkorat.—Pangeran Pugar, a younger son of the late sultan, defeats the Mandurese, and proclaims himself sovereign at Mataram. Susunan Mangkorat calls in the assistance of the Dutch, and marches with them to Japara.

Raja Palaka, king of Boni, demands a free trade for his subjects, and threatens to quarrel with the Dutch for their evasion of it, but is finally pacified by their dexterity.

December 29.—The Dutch send a force under Admiral Speelman to assist the Susunan Mangkorat.

The Susunan Mangkorat grants great commercial immunities to the Dutch, the origin of *his*

humiliation, and of *their* political errors in the management of Java.

Speelman captures Surabaya from Truna Jaya and the Macassars.

C. 1677. J. 1600. H. 1086.

Anayit Shah, queen of Achin, ascends the throne.

The Dutch, at the instigation of the Bugis kings of Boni and Sopeng, make war on Macassar, and depose the king, raising in his room his brother, Mapa Dulang.

The deposed king of Goa Macassar is taken into custody, and transported for Batavia, but dies on his passage thither.

C. 1678. J. 1601. H. 1087.

Ryklof Van Goens, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The war which commenced in Java in 1675 still continues.

The Dutch and Susunan attack Kadiri, the residence of Truna Jaya, and capture it, with much treasure.

September 21.—Don Juan de Vargas, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1679. J. 1602. H. 1088.

Truna Jaya is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Susunan with his own hands, his courtiers joining in the murder.

C. 1680. J. 1603. H. 1089.

The western portion of the island of Madura is

given by the Susunan, on the death of Truna Jaya to Chakra Ningrat, and the eastern to Machan Wulan.

The people of the west coast of Sumatra rebel, and are subdued by a large force sent from Batavia.

April 25.—The Susunan Mankgorat and the Dutch attack Giri, the principality of the spiritual chief of that name, defeat him, and puts himself and his relations to death.

The Susunan changes the seat of government, and fixes upon Cartasura for the new capital.

November 17.—The Pangeran Pugur surrenders himself to his brother the Susunan at Ampel.

C. 1681. J. 1604. H. 1090.

The Dutch defeat and kill the rebel Nimrod, a fugitive slave from Batavia, who had long disturbed the peace of Java.

The sultans of Cheribon place themselves and their country under the *protection* of the Dutch.

A new war breaks out in the Moluccas, which ends in the seizure of the king of Ternate, and his transportation to Batavia.

Cornelius Speelman, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The Dutch interfere in the quarrel of the ex-sultan and reigning sultan of Bantam.

C. 1682. J. 1605. H. 1091.

Ambassadors arrive at Mataram from Jehor

and Palembang, presenting elephants to the Susunán.

Sultan Mahomed Shah the Fourth ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1683. J. 1606. H. 1092.

Various sharp actions are fought between the Dutch and the party of the old sultan of Bantam, in which the former are victorious.

The ex-king of Bantam is taken captive, and imprisoned for life.

The king of Bantam grants to the Dutch the exclusive trade in pepper, and the monopoly of the sale of cotton goods in his dominions, and expels the Danes and English who had taken part with his father.

Shekh Yusuf, a Balinese slave, raises a rebellion in Bantam, is taken and banished to the Cape of Good Hope.

The rebellion of Surapati commences by the flight of that person, a native of Bali, and the slave of a Dutch citizen of Batavia.

He takes refuge with the Susunan, who receives him favourably.

C. 1684. J. 1607. H. 1093.

The impostor Kyayi Agung Gring raises a rebellion in Mataram.—A total eclipse of the sun is observed at that place.

The English send an embassy from Madras to

Achin, requesting permission to build a factory, which is *peremptorily refused.*

August 24.—Don Gabriel Curuzalegui, governor of the Philippines.

Jan Canphuis, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1685. J. 1608. H. 1094.

June 25.—The English establish their settlement at Bencoolen in Sumatra.

Panămbahan Kajoran, father-in-law to Truna Jaya, raises a rebellion, which is not suppressed without difficulty.

C. 1686. J. 1609. H. 1095.

The Seur Tak is sent by the Dutch as ambassador to the court of Mataram, to demand the head of Surapati, when he and his suite are massacred by the latter and his followers, with the connivance of the Susunan.

C. 1687. J. 1610. H. 1096.

Surapati retreats to the eastern end of the island of Java, and establishes an independent principality over twenty one districts.

The Dutch, on the call of the king of Bantam, attack Succadana in Borneo, said to be a dependency of Bantam, and conquer it, making the English who are found there prisoners.

C. 1688. J. 1611. H. 1097.

Anayet Shah, queen of Achin, dies, and is succeeded by another queen, whose name is not mentioned.

C. 1689. J. 1612. H. 1098.

April 27.—Senor Abella, provisional governor of the Philippines.

C. 1690. J. 1613. H. 1099.

Don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1691. J. 1614. H. 1100.

Jonker, an Amboynese chief in the Dutch service in Java, is driven to rebellion by an affront offered him by a certain General de St Martin.—He is killed himself in a skirmish which ensues, and one hundred and eighty of his followers are executed.

C. 1694. J. 1617. H. 1103.

An insurrection takes place in the Marianas, or Ladrones, against the Spaniards.

C. 1696. J. 1620. H. 1106.

The people of Blambangan in Java invade the more westerly districts, particularly Kadiri, laying the country waste, and murdering the inhabitants.

The tragical affair of Sukro, son of the first minister of the Susunan, and the repudiated wife of the heir-apparent, takes place at Cartasura.

C. 1697. J. 1621. H. 1107.

Raja Palaka, king of Boni in Celebes, after rendering himself nearly independent of the Dutch, and dictating to the smaller and tributary states of the island, dies, and is succeeded by his nephew,

Lapatao, called after his death Matinroa ri Nagawulang.

C. 1699. J. 1623. H. 1109.

Surapati attempts the conquest of the province of Pronorogo in Java, but is defeated.

The queen of Achin is deposed, and the king, Beder al Alum, elected in her room.

Sultan abd ul Juhl the Third ascends the throne of Jehor.

C. 1701. J. 1625. H. 1111.

The Susunan of Java sends a mission, with gifts, to Mecca.

September 8.—Don Domingo Zabalburu, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1702. J. 1626. H. 1112.

Beder al Alum, king of Achin, afflicted with a severe malady, resigns his crown, and Perkasa Alum is elected in his place.

The king of Achin having attempted to levy duties on the English trade at the port, the English traders of that nation at the place immediately proceed to offensive measures, and he is, by a threatened insurrection of his subjects, compelled to repeal his decree.

C. 1703. J. 1627. H. 1113.

The Susunan Manghurat dies, nominating his eldest son, the Pangeran Dipati Anom, as his successor, who sends ambassadors to Batavia, announcing his accession to the throne.

C. 1704. J. 1628. H. 1114.

Jan Von Hoorn, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The Dutch espouse the cause of the prince of Pugar, and commence the war, which, for distinction sake, is called "the first war of Java."

Pangeran Pugar escapes from Cartasura to Samarang, and is proclaimed Susunan by the Dutch under the name of Susunan Pakubuwono.

Perkasa Alum, king of Achin, is deposed, and Jemal ul Alum elected in his room.

C. 1705. J. 1629. H. 1115.

The Dutch general De Wilde takes the field with an army of eight thousand Europeans; and seven thousand Javanese and Madurese auxiliaries, under the Madurese prince Chakra Ningrat.

The Dutch defeat the army of the Susunan near Cartasura, consisting of thirty thousand men.

The prince of Pugar is proclaimed Susunan at Cartasura. Many of the nobles come over to him, some of whom he strangles, and others he stabs to death with his own hand,—among the former *a son of his own.*

October 5.—De Wilde concludes a treaty with the new Susunan, by which the latter yields the supremacy of Cheribon and Madura, and cedes many provinces on the north coast of the island of Java to the Dutch.

C. 1706. J. 1630. H. 1116.

The dethroned monarch the Susunan Mas flies to the eastern end of Java and joins Surapati.

The Dutch and their allies, with an army of thirty thousand men, take the field against the dethroned Susunan and Surapati.

Surapati surprises and defeats a detachment of the Dutch army near Bangil.

October 16.—The Dutch attack the fort of Bangil, in which Surapati commanded in person, and, after a brave resistance, carry it.—Surapati makes his escape, after receiving a wound, of which he dies three months thereafter.—The Dutch, instead of pursuing the advantage thus gained, retire to Surabaya for the rainy season, and give the enemy time to recruit, who become in their turn the assailants, insult Surabaya the Dutch head-quarters, and burn and destroy the country around it.

C. 1707. J. 1631. H. 1117.

The sons of Surapati are defeated by the Dutch and their allies; they are deprived of the principality which the family had held for twenty years, and the body of Surapati himself, with those of many of his followers, is disinterred, burnt, and the ashes scattered in the air.

The prince of Sumanap Sudarma is poignarded by order of the Dutch government, for being implicated in the rebellion of Surapati.

C. 1708. J. 1632. H. 1118.

August 24.—The Dutch commander of the forces, Knol, makes offers to the dethroned Susunan, who surrenders himself on assurance of grace, and is sent to Batavia.

The Pangeran of Surabaya is put to death by the Susunan at the instigation of the Dutch.

The ex-Susunan arrives at Batavia, and claiming the indemnity on the faith of which he had surrendered, the pledge of indemnity is disclaimed, and after a month's residence at Batavia, he is banished to Ceylon, where he ended his days.

C. 1709. J. 1633. H. 1119.

The impostor Mas Dono raises a rebellion, is taken prisoner, and tortured to death by order of the Susunan.

August 5.—Don Martin de Ursua y-Arismendi, Count de Lizaraga, governor of the Philippines.

The Chinese are banished from Manila, under the absurd pretext of carrying off the public wealth.

Mapa Dulang, king of Boni in Celebes, dies, and is succeeded by his daughter's son, Sapuale-e, king of Macassar.

C. 1710. J. 1634. H. 1120.

The Macassars of Goa having refused to deliver up Arung Palaka, son of the king of Boni, who had taken refuge with them, the king of Boni and

the Dutch make war upon them, and reduce them to entire subjection.

The Spaniards attempt the conversion of the inhabitants of the Palaos, or Pelew Islands, but the priests sent with that view were never heard of after landing.

C. 1712. J. 1636. H. 1122.

Sapuale-e, king of Goa, is formally deposed by the national council, and Mapa Orange, king of Tallo, raised to the throne in his room.

C. 1713. J. 1637. H. 1123.

The king of Boni is inconsolable for the loss of a beloved concubine, and proposes, in his grief, to abdicate the throne, and undertake *the pilgrimage*, but is dissuaded by his courtiers.

The Javanese chiefs of Surabaya, Madura, Blambangan, and Kadiri, with the assistance of Dewa Agung, king of Bali, unite in a confederacy against the Dutch and Susunan.

The Dutch banish the king of Tambora in Sambawa to the Cape of Good Hope.

Christopher Van Zwol, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1714. J. 1638. H. 1124.

The king of Boni, Mapa Orange, dies, and is succeeded by his eldest daughter, Batara Toja.

The settlement of the English at Bencoolen is removed from its first station to Fort Marlborough.

C. 1715. J. 1639. H. 1125.

February 4.—Senor Torralba, provisional governor of the Philippines.

Batara Toja resigns the crown in favour of her half-brother, Lapadang Sejati, king of Sopeng.

C. 1717. J. 1641. H. 1127.

August 9.—Don Fernando Bustamante, governor of the Philippines.

The governor of the Philippines sends a mission to Siam, to cultivate friendly and commercial relations with that country, and the Spaniards obtain liberty to settle a factory; but a ship of Siam having, in the mean time, come to Manila, and the crew being ill used by the Spaniards, the effects of the mission are frustrated.

C. 1718. J. 1642. H. 1128.

Joyo Puspito, chief of Surabaya, defeats the Dutch and Susunan in a battle fought near Surabaya.

The prince of Madura revolts, and, being defeated, takes shelter on board a Dutch frigate, where a *muck* taking place, he, his brother, and son, with the captain of the Dutch frigate, and others, lose their lives.

Henry Zwardekroon, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1719. J. 1643. H. 1129.

February.—The Susunan Pakubuwana dies, af-

ter a reign of sixteen years, and is succeeded by his eldest son, Susunan Prabu.

The princes Blitar and Purboyo, brothers of the Susunan, rebel.—Nine of the principal persons concerned in their revolt are taken prisoners, and being ranged in order before the Susunan, he requests his courtiers to show their attachment to his person by putting them to death, when a number of them rush upon the prisoners, and poignard them on the spot.

The impostor, Pangeran Kudus, or Ponchowati, raises a rebellion in Java, is defeated, wounded, and, on being taken, put to death.

Aryo Mataram, uncle to the Susunan, revolts.

Joyo Purpito, the head of the great rebellion in Java, dies a natural death.

The natives of Sumatra, irritated by the misconduct of the agents of the English East India Company, rise upon the Europeans at Bencoolen, and the garrison, panic-struck, abandons the fort.

The natives of Bencoolen, alarmed for the encroachments of the Dutch, invite the English to come back, who return accordingly.

The king of Boni becomes jealous of his sister, Batara Toja, or Datu Chita, and persecutes her and her husband.

October 11.—The governor of the Philippines acts in a tyrannical manner, and loses his life in a

tumult of the citizens of Manila, who raise the archbishop to the government in his stead.

C. 1720. J. 1644. H. 1130.

Pangeran Blitar, one of the rebels in Java, who had taken the title of *sultan*, is defeated by the Dutch and Susunan, but the victory not being taken advantage of, he is soon again in a condition to take the field.

The nobles of Boni in Celebes are disgusted at the conduct of their king, Lapadang Sajati.—They depose him, and re-elect his sister Batara Toja, who immediately resigns in favour of her half-brother, the deposed king of Goa, Sapuale-e.

C. 1721. J. 1645. H. 1131.

Aryo Mataram, uncle to the Susunan, is seized by a treacherous negociation of the Dutch, decoyed into the fort of Japara, and there, with his family, to the number of eighteen persons, massacred in cold blood.

August 6.—Don Toribio Casio, Marquis de Torre Campo, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1722. J. 1646. H. 1132.

A famine and epidemic prevail among the belligerent parties in Java, and both the European and native troops are swept off in great numbers. The rebel sultan falls a victim to the disorder.

April 22.—The conspiracy of Erberfeld is discovered at Batavia, and the conspirators are broken on the wheel.

The Dutch commodore Roggewein performing his celebrated voyage of discovery round the world, has the mortification to find his squadron confiscated by the authorities at Batavia, on his arrival at that place, for a pretended infringement of the charter of the East India Company.

The Javanese princes and chiefs, in revolt against the Dutch and the Susunan, surrender themselves at Batavia to the number of forty-four persons, and are banished to Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope,—thus ending the *first war of Java*, which, for a period of near twenty years, continued to desolate the finest parts of the island.

C. 1723. J. 1647. H. 1133.

The culture of coffee is introduced into Java by the Dutch governor-general Zwardekroon.

Jemai ul Alum, king of Achin, is deposed, and Juhar ul Alum elected in his room.—Undai Tebang is raised to the throne, but is immediately deposed.—Ala ed-den Ahmed Shah Juhan ascends the throne.

C. 1724. J. 1648. H. 1134.

The people of Boni in Celebes are dissatisfied with Sapuale-e, because he is in the hands of favourites, and they dethrone him.—Tapawawi, or Arnug Mampo, is raised to the throne, but deposed in four days, and his sister Batara Toja elected for the third time.

C. 1725. J. 1649. H. 1135.

The prince Purboyo and the son of Surapati are

betrayed by a promise of pardon, and seized by the Dutch.

Matthew de Haan, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1726. J. 1650. H. 1136.

The Susunan Prabu dies, and is, through an intrigue of the Dutch, succeeded by his youngest son, Pakubuwono, to the exclusion of the elder, the prince Aryo, nominated successor to the crown by his father.

Batara Toja, queen of Boni, marries for her fourth husband Arung Kayu, and makes him joint regent with herself.

C. 1727. J. 1651. H. 1137.

Batara Toja, queen of Boni, attacks the king of Sopeng, her brother, defeats him, and puts him and his family to death.—She causes herself to be proclaimed queen of Sopeng.

C. 1728. J. 1652. H. 1138.

Arung Kayu, joint regent with his wife Batara Toja, conspires against and attempts to supplant her.—His conspiracy is detected, and he is compelled to fly to save his life.

C. 1729. J. 1654. H. 1140.

August 14.—Don Fernando Valdes y Tamon, governor-general of the Philippines.

Diederick Thierry Durven, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1730. J. 1655. H. 1141.

The Pangeran Aryo, elder brother of the Susunan, is seized on pretext of a criminal intrigue with a concubine of the Susunan, and given over to the Dutch.

C. 1732. J. 1657. H. 1143.

Dirk Van Cloon, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The governor of Ceylon, Peter Vuyst, is executed at Batavia for high treason and other crimes.

C. 1733. J. 1658. H. 1144.

Danurājo, first minister of the Susunan, having thwarted the ambitious designs of the Dutch, incurs their displeasure, is given over to them, and banished to Ceylon.

C. 1734. J. 1659. H. 1145.

Kraing Bontolangkas declares himself king of Goa, and joins the intrepid Waju pirate Sinkang, when they proclaim their intention of expelling the Dutch from Celebes.

C. 1735. J. 1660. H. 1146.

The king of Goa Macassar flies to Tallo, in consequence of the intrigues of Bontolangkas, and his grandson Malawangap is elected in his room.

Ala ed-din Juhan Shah ascends the throne of Achin.—A civil war, which afflicts that country for ten years, commences.

Abraham Patras, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1736. J. 1661. H. 1147.

The king of Goa Macassar, and the Waju pirate, Singkang, subdue Bontaing and the northern provinces.

The Susunan Manghorat Mas dies at Ceylon, and his family, with the regalia, are brought back to Java.

C. 1737. J. 1662. H. 1148.

Adrian Valckenier, governor general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1739. J. 1664. H. 1150.

Bontolangkas, joined by the people of Waju, and by the greater part of the Macassars, takes Goa, and invests Fort Rotterdam.—The Dutch garrison defeat them in three separate actions, and retake Goa with the regalia of Macassar.—The Macassars submit, and the war terminates.—Bontolangkas dies of the wounds received in the last action.

Don Gaspar de la Torre, governor of the Philippines.

The English admiral Anson captures the Acapulco Galleon, with a million and a half of dollars in silver specie.

C. 1740. J. 1665. H. 1151.

The Dutch and people of Boni sail for Waju, and obtain two victories over the Wajus, but in an impolitic manner stop short of subduing the country, and of making a final arrangement.

The Chinese, to the number of ten thousand, are massacred at Batavia by the Dutch, on suspicion of a conspiracy.

Valckenier, the Dutch governor-general, arrests three counsellors of the Indies for opposition to his measures, and sends them to Europe.

C. 1741. J. 1666. H. 1152.

The Dutch governor-general proceeds for Europe, but is arrested at the Cape of Good Hope, and sent back to Batavia to be tried for the massacre of the Chinese, and the arrest of his associates in the government.

Jan Thiedens, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

The Chinese are driven from their entrenchments, eight miles from Batavia, and, retreating to the eastward, join the Susunan in a league to exterminate the Dutch.

The Susunan and the Chinese capture the Dutch fortress at Cartasura, and put to death the European officers who had surrendered by capitulation.

The Susunan and the Chinese march to Samarang, and lay siege to the fort, with, according to the Dutch statement, *two hundred thousand men.*

The Dutch collect a force of twelve thousand men at Samarang, make a sortie, and defeat the besiegers.

The Susunan forsakes his alliance with the Chi-

nese, of whom he massacres a number, and then joins the Dutch.

The Chinese retreat into the interior of Java, and raise to the throne a prince of the house of Mataram, commonly called the Susunan Kuning.

November 29.—The Dutch celebrate their triumph over the Chinese, by a public thanksgiving at Batavia.

C. 1742. J. 1667. H. 1153.

Malawangao, king of Goa Macassar, dies, and is succeeded by his infant brother, Mapa Bewasa.

The Chinese, with the Susunan Kuning, attack the capital Cartasura, and take it.

The Madurese retake Cartasura, and the Chinese retreat with their Susunan.

The Chinese are joined by Suryo Kusumo, better known by the name of Mangkunagoro, and they fight a number of actions with the Dutch troops, and those of the Susunan.

Cartasura is abandoned, and the seat of government is removed to Solo or Surakarta.

C. 1743. J. 1668. H. 1154.

The Chinese disperse, and the Susunan Kuning surrendering himself to the Dutch, is banished to Ceylon.

Gustavus Willem, Baron d'Imhoff, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1745. J. 1670. H. 1156.

The Dutch declare war against the prince of

Madura, and defeat him in an engagement which ensues.

September 21.—Senor Arrechedera, provisional governor of the Philippines.

C. 1746. J. 1671. H. 1157.

The governor-general Van Imhoff visits Solo, the capital of the Susunan, and pursues such measures as disgust the Javanese princes.—The Pangeran Mangkubumi, in consequence, quits Solo at night, with his followers, and commences the rebellion which ended in the division of the native empire.—He is joined by Mangkunagoro.

C. 1747. J. 1672. H. 1158.

Pedro de la Sona Trinidad, provisional governor of the Philippines.

A royal order arrives at Manila for the final expulsion of the Chinese, the execution of which is suspended.

C. 1748. J. 1673. H. 1159.

The Dutch East India Company instal the Prince of Orange as supreme director and governor-general of the Indies.

C. 1749. J. 1674. H. 1160.

The queen of Boni in Celebes, Batara Toja, dies, and is succeeded by her brother, Lama Sosrong

C. 1750. J. 1675. H. 1161.

The Susunan Pakubuwono the Second, usually denominated Sedo Laweyan, on his death-bed is induced to sign a deed, surrendering, for himself and his

heirs, the throne of Java to the Dutch.—He dies, and the Dutch raise his son, a boy of nine years of age, to the throne.

The rebel prince Mangkubumi gives the Dutch and their Javanese allies a complete overthrow at Tidar, in the province of Kadu.

Don Francisco Joseph, Marquis de Obanda, governor of the Philippines.

C. 1751. J. 1676. H. 1162.

June 13.—The Spaniards of Manila send a force against the island of Sooloo, and dictate terms to the people of it.—They declare war against the people of that island, and, sending a second expedition thither, they are disgracefully beaten by the inhabitants, who, in their turn, with the assistance of the freebooters of the neighbouring countries, invade the Philippines, and ravage and desolate the Spanish provinces.

Mangkubumi and Mangkunagoro the rebel princes gain a succession of small advantages over the Dutch.

C. 1752. J. 1677. H. 1163.

The most considerable action of the war of Java is fought at Janar, in the province of Baglen, when Mangkubumi gains a complete victory over the Dutch.—He invades after this the territory of the European power, and plunders Pakalongan, Batang, and Wăleri.

A volcanic eruption from some mountain of the neighbouring islands covers Java with ashes, accompanied by a total darkness, from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon.—A dreadful famine and epidemic afflict the island of Java.

Jacob Mossel, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.*

The English establish a settlement at Natal in Sumatra.

C. 1753. J. 1678. H. 1164.

The rebel Javanese princes, Mangkubumi and Mangkunagoro, quarrel and separate.—They fight a battle in Pronorogo, and Mangkubumi is defeated.

The Dutch make overtures to Mangkunagoro, sending him, as a bribe, the body of his father, brought, for that purpose, from Ceylon, where he had died in banishment!

Amasa Madena, called also Batara Goa, succeeds to the crown of Goa Macassar.

C. 1754. J. 1679–80. H. 1165–66.

The inhabitants of Sooloo, and other natives of the surrounding states, invade the Philippines, and, entering with fire and sword, murder the religious orders, Indians and Spaniards, and carry off thousands of the inhabitants of every description.

Don Pedro Manuel de Arandia, governor of the Philippines.

December.—A dreadful eruption of a volcano,

accompanied by violent shocks of earthquakes, takes place in the Philippines, by which a number of villages are laid in ruins, and many lives destroyed.

C. 1755. J. 1680. H. 1166.

January 1.—The governor-general of the Dutch Indies issues a code of sumptuary laws, in *one hundred and twenty-three articles.*

The Spaniards of the Philippines, under the priest Ducos, are successful in checking the inroads of the neighbouring native states on the Philippines.

The Dutch and Susunan, despairing of any success against Mangkubumi in the field, negociate with him to arrest his conquests, and cede to him one half of the kingdom of the latter, under the title of sultan.

The Dutch, the Susunan, and the newly created sultan, pursue Mangkunagoro, and defeat him in a variety of petty actions.

C. 1756. J. 1681. H. 1167.

The new sultan of Java fixes his capital at Yugyacarta, in the province of Mataram.

C. 1757. J. 1682. H. 1168.

Mangkunagoro, eluding the pursuit of his enemies, attacks the sultan's capital in his absence, and plunders it.

The confederated Dutch and Javanese find themselves compelled to negociate with Mangkunagoro, and he comes to terms on receiving an hereditary

estate of four thousand families, which event puts an end to a war of eleven years standing, which, for distinction's sake, is usually called the *second war of Java.*

The Chinese are finally expelled from the Philippines, in conformity to the royal edict, and the temporary residence of the traders from China only tolerated.

C. 1759. J. 1684. H. 1170.

June 1.—Senor Espeleta, bishop of Zebu, provisional governor of the Philippines.

C. 1760. J. 1685. H. 1171.

Ala ed-din Mahomed Shah ascends the throne of Achin.

The French, under the Compte d'Estaing, destroy the whole of the English settlements on the west coast of Sumatra.

C. 1761. J. 1686. H. 1172.

Don Manuel Roxo, archbishop of the Philippines, provisional governor of these islands.

Peter Albert Van der Parra, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1762. J. 1688. H. 1174.

September 22.—The British, under Brigadier-general Draper and Admiral Cornish, arrive at the Philippines, with a considerable naval and military expedition, and demand the surrender of the islands, which being refused, they commence military operations.

October 5.—The English storm the fortifications of Manila, and carry the town, which they deliver over to plunder, and on which they levy a heavy contribution, after a capitulation had been entered into.

The military commander, Senor Anda, retires from the city of Manila, and, with the assistance of the different religious orders, maintains the authority of the king of Spain in the Philippines, so that the British authority never extends much beyond the confines of Manila.

December.—The Chinese, who, in the course of three years, had increased in prodigious numbers in the Philippines, all join the English, and commit great excesses.

Senor Anda, the Spanish military commander, orders all the Chinese in the Philippines *to be hanged*, which order is very generally carried into effect.

The unconverted nations of the Philippines commonly join the English, and a very general rising of these people takes place.

C. 1763. J. 1689. H. 1175.

The English settlements on the west coast of Sumatra are re-established, and their acquisitions there are confirmed by the peace of Paris.

The English settlement of Bencoolen, or Fort Marlborough, is erected into an independent presidency.

Ala ed-din-Mahomed Shah, king of Achin, is driven from the throne, which is seized by the Maharaja, or first officer of state, who takes the name of Beder ed-din Julian Shah.

The English deliver over Manila to the Spaniards, in conformity to the conditions of the peace of 1763.

C. 1765. J. 1690—91. H. 1176—77.

March.—The rebellion of the Indian inhabitants of the Philippines, occasioned by the invasion of the English, is finally quelled by the Spaniards, after a loss, on the part of the former, of more than ten thousand men.

Beder ed-din Juhan Shah, king of Achin, is put to death, and Mahomed Shah restored to the throne.

C. 1766. J. 1692. H. 1178.

Batara Goa, king of Macassar, abdicates the throne.

C. 1768. J. 1694. H. 1180.

Arung Mampo usurps the throne of Goa Macassar.

C. 1769. J. 1695. H. 1181.

Tumamenang ri Matuangi ascends the throne of Goa-Macassar.

C. 1775. J. 1701. H. 1187.

Jeremiah Van Reimsdyck, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1776. J. 1702. H. 1188.

An adventurer, called Sangkilang, raises an in-

surrection and formidable rebellion in Celebes, by which the country is kept in a state of anarchy for 16 years.

C. 1777. J. 1703. H. 1189.

October 5.—Reinier de Klerk, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1778. J. 1704. H. 1190.

Sangkilang captures the town of Goa and the regalia.

C. 1780. J. 1706. H. 1192.

September 1.—Arnold Alting, governor-general of the Dutch Indies.

C. 1781. J. 1707. H. 1193.

Ala ed-din Mahomed Shah Jehan, son of the last king, ascends the throne of Achin.

C. 1785. J. 1711. H. 1197.

The English, directed by Mr Light and Mr Scott, establish a settlement on Pulao Pinang, called by them Prince of Wales Island, a barren and unoccupied island of the principality of Queda, lying at the north-western entrance of the Straits of Malacca.

The adventurer Sangkilang dies a natural death.

C. 1788. J. 1714. H. 1200.

The Susunan of Java dies, and is succeeded by his son the reigning prince.

C. 1790. J. 1716. H. 1202.

The war occasioned by the rebellion of Sangkilang ends in Celebes.

C. 1792. J. 1718. H. 1204.

The sultan of Java dies, and is succeeded by his son, Mangkubuwono the Second.

C. 1795. J. 1721. H. 1207.

The British capture the town of Malacca and its dependencies.

C. 1802. J. 1720. H. 1215.

Bencoolen is, by an act of the British Parliament, subjected to the presidency of Bengal.

C. 1809. J. 1736. H. 1222.

Tumanenang ri Lambusuna ascends the throne of Goa Macassar.

C. 1810. J. 1737. H. 1223.

The Dutch move a force to Yugyacarta and depose the sultan of Java, raising his eldest son in his room.

C. 1811. J. 1738. H. 1224.

The Dutch colonies of the Indian Archipelago, following the fate of the mother country, become a portion of the French empire, and the general of division Janssens, is appointed governor-general.

August 4.—The British land a force in Java.

August 10.—They take possession of the town of Batavia, and drive the Dutch and French troops, after a smart action, from the cantonments of Weltervrieden.

August 26.—The British troops storm the entrenched position of the enemy at Cornelis, within

three miles of the city of Batavia, and take it in a very gallant manner.

September 16.—The French governor-general Janssens, having retreated to the eastern part of Java with the remnant of his force, fights a petty action with the British force at the village of Serondel, within seven miles of Samarang, and is defeated.

September 18.—The French governor-general enters into a capitulation with the British authorities for the surrender of Java, and the other Dutch possessions.

The ex-sultan of Java resumes the government, and puts his first minister, and the father of that officer, to death, for opposing his wishes.

The authority of the Dutch in Celebes is transferred to the British, in conformity to the capitulation entered into between the French governor-general and the British authorities.

C. 1812. J. 1739. H. 1225.

May 17.—The British authorities, in Java send an expedition against the sultan of Palembang, sovereign of the island of Banca, and dethrone him, raising in his room his brother, in consideration of which, the latter cedes to them the islands of Banca and Billiton.

June 20.—The British march a force against the sultan of Java, and, declaring war against him, storm his fortified palace with less than a thousand

men, and take it without difficulty, though defended by more than eight thousand. The sultan is made prisoner, and his son replaced on the throne, by the title of Mangkubuwono the Third.

The Susuhunan and sultan of Java cede to the British government the provinces of Kadu, Blora, Jipang, Japan, and Garobagan.

C. 1813. J. 1740. H. 1226.

The British government of Java, under the direction of Sir Stamford Raffles in a spirit of great liberality, effects a number of beneficial changes, commercial, fiscal, and judicial.

C. 1814. J. 1739. H. 1227.

A brother of the Hindu Raja of Blelling in Bali, having insulted the post of Blambangan in Java, a British expedition, proceeding to Celebes, stops at Bali, and receives the submission of the Raja.

The king of Boni in Celebes, refusing to acknowledge the European supremacy, is attacked by a large force sent from Java and defeated, but escapes, and carries on a predatory warfare, until the surrender of the island to the Dutch.

C. 1815. J. 1742. H. 1228.

Mangkubuwono the Third, sultan of Java, dies, and is succeeded by his son, the reigning prince, the fourth of the same name.

C. 1816. J. 1743. H. 1229.

August 19.—Java is ceded by treaty to the Dutch, and taken possession of.

The British authorities quit Celebes, and surrender it to the Dutch.

The Spice Islands are surrendered to the Dutch.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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